

VOLUME IV DECEMBER, 1925 NUMBER 2

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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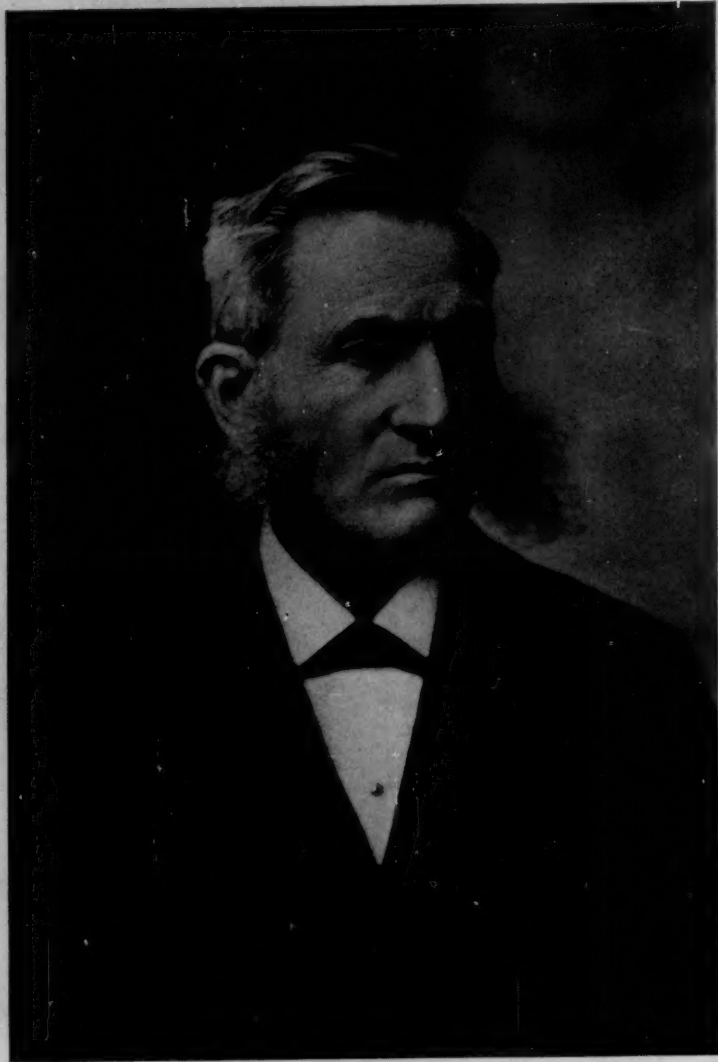
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MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE



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SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1925

MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: LESTER FRANK
WARD¹

JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY

LESTER F. WARD in the field of social science is to the United States what Auguste Comte is to France or Herbert Spencer to England. Great pioneer in the development of sociology on this side of the Atlantic, he was often referred to in his later years as the Nestor of American sociologists, while his comprehensive knowledge and his scientific method make him an admirable approach to the study of the social sciences.

Few, if any, Americans can compare with Ward in the breadth and depth of his scientific and philosophic information. In his teaching at Brown University he made his colleagues gasp by announcing a course entitled, "A Survey of All Knowledge." Aided by a chart² he in the course of a year worked up from astronomy and the physical sciences, into the organic and the psychic, and closed with an exposition of the laws and principles basal to sociology and a discussion of its numer-

ous sub-divisions. Throughout he emphasized a monistic and synthetic explanation of the field of knowledge with hints here and there as to the trend of future investigations.

This remarkable fund of knowledge on his part was the result of the study and meditation of a full half century, during which he devoted, in his leisure time, all the energy of his mind to scientific study and investigation and to the expression of his thought in numerous writings. One wonders what he might have accomplished in the sociological field, had his last twenty-five years been freed from the necessity of economic task work for daily support, for Ward was born in poverty, his income throughout his life was rather meager, and his estate at death was of small value.

Ward was fortunate in his parentage. On the paternal side was an old New England family of English descent, honored by a recent genealogy.³ On the maternal side was the Loomis family, famous for many distinguished members;

¹ Born in Joliet, Illinois, June 18, 1841; died in Washington, D. C., April 18, 1913.

² A fac-simile of this may be seen in Emily Palmer Cape's *Lester F. Ward*, pages 148-9.

³ *The Genealogy of the Descendants of Andrew Ward of Fairfield, Connecticut*. Edition, 1910.

the mother herself was the daughter of a clergyman and a woman of refinement and literary taste. The father was a mechanic of an inventive turn of mind, a veteran of the war of 1812, and a rolling stone of the pioneer type. He first moved his family from New York State to Illinois and then after some years the parents, with their two youngest children, Erastus and Lester, moved by wagon to Iowa, where the father died in 1857. After the father's death the mother with her two sons returned to Illinois.

The youngest son, Lester, the youngest of ten children, was at this time nearly sixteen years of age, and he at once sought work for self support; in the following year he moved to Pennsylvania, working, farming, and at times teaching school. The boy's education during his early years was chiefly in the school of hard knocks and experience, there being little opportunity for formal education. Yet he found mental stimulus in the family environment and through contact with the natural phenomena and teeming life of the prairies whence he got his great love for nature. In his early adolescent years young Lester mastered the contents of what books he could find, developed a great fondness for languages, more especially French, German, Greek and Latin, and finally, by the time he was twenty-one years of age, he was able to spend a little over a year completing a course at an academy at Towanda, Pennsylvania, in preparation for college. But in 1862 the Civil War was raging and he could not resist Lincoln's call for additional troops, so that in the summer he enlisted in the army, marrying just before his departure Elizabeth Vought,⁴ a

⁴ She died in 1872, having had one child who died in infancy. Ward was later married to Miss Simons, who survived him by a few months, leaving no children.

love match followed by his lonely honeymoon in camp. He was severely wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville, three gunshot wounds, and was discharged from service November 18, 1864, because of physical disability.

Beginning in 1865 and for the next forty years he was in governmental service, at first as a clerk in the Treasury Department, then he became Chief of the Division of Navigation and Immigration and afterwards Librarian of the United States Bureau of Statistics. In 1881 he entered the United States Geological Survey, and in 1892 became chief paleontologist. His linguistic ability was recognized by appointments among the collaborators of the *Century Dictionary* and of the last supplement to Webster's *International Dictionary*. As special agent for the United States Bureau of Education also he prepared a report on "Sociology at the Paris Exposition of 1900," at which he spent several months. During the last twenty-four years of governmental service he specialized in botanical and geological work and in paleobotany. In the summer of 1906 he was able to gratify a life long ambition—that of instructing in a university—by accepting a position as Professor of Sociology at Brown University, thus giving him leisure for authorship. This position he held until death came in the spring in 1913; he was buried at Washington and later reinterred in the Brookside Cemetery of Watertown, New York.

Ward's attainment in 1865 of a place in the Civil Service at Washington gave him at last a real opportunity for formal education. Columbian (now George Washington) University offered then as now evening classes in collegiate instruction and of these he took advantage. In rapid succession he secured the A.B. degree (1869), LL.B. (1871), A.M. (1872),

and in 1897 was given the honorary degree of LL.D. He had a diploma in medicine also but once jokingly remarked that his conscience would not permit him to *practice* either in law or medicine. He was a member in many learned societies, holding high office in some, but those of which he felt especially proud were his election to the presidency of the Institut International de Sociologie, 1900-1903, and his election as the first president of the American Sociological Society, 1906-1907.

Ward's real education came not so much from the class room but rather through his own eager desire to add to his fund of knowledge by studying along the line of his interests. A glance at the list of his published articles in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, aside from his formal works in the natural sciences and in sociology, shows his keen interest in astronomy, biology, anthropology, psychology, economics and political science. Education also was one of his favorite fields, the social aspects of which especially interested him. He studied deeply into philosophic systems, paying especial attention to Kant, and wrote much on religion, at first as a controversialist against the errors of the churches and the dogmatism of theology and in later years in attempts to work out a philosophic basis for a world religion freed from superstition. In all of these studies he was greatly aided by his facility in the knowledge of languages. In addition to the four already mentioned he read Italian, Spanish and Russian, besides having a bowing acquaintance with several others.

Obviously such attainments were not made by one in poor health or of weak physique. Ward hardly knew a sick day in his life until he had passed seventy years of age. He was in height fully six feet, broad shouldered, deep chested, and

muscular from the experiences of early years, showing no tendency towards stoutness. Even in his sixties he was able to walk without apparent fatigue fifteen to twenty miles on a stretch, absorbed in the botanical or geological phenomena about him. In complexion he was blond, but tanned by much exposure to the sun, and had brown hair and the bluish gray eyes of his race. In older years he acquired a "scholarly stoop" that detracted somewhat from his real height. He smoked with great moderation and rarely drank except on social occasions. His abounding health enabled him to work hard and long, day after day, with very brief intervals for rest or social intercourse, since he found his happiness, not in play or amusement, but in the contact of mind with mind or in reflection in his study or on the long jaunts away from the city into the country.

In personality Ward was rather modest and at times almost bashful, especially in addressing gatherings of women. Having traveled widely all over the United States and in Europe, where he was well known and highly esteemed, he was an excellent conversationalist on worthwhile subjects but disliked small talk. He was fond of home life and of children, though awkward with them through lack of experience in their ways. He was twice happily married, to women highly congenial and interested in his studies and literary labors. Each was a constant stimulus to him in his ambition to make achievement and to their influence doubtless may be ascribed much of his belief in woman's capacity and his stress on a marriage based on love and mutual appreciation.

His natural dignity was best manifested in scientific gatherings where he felt himself to be at home. In the expression of

opinion he was clear, logical and brief, having a fine command of English and was never at a loss for an appropriate illustration. Like many who seem somewhat distant and reserved he was at heart rather deeply emotional and affectionate and was highly appreciative of sympathetic attention, but his emotional nature was held in check by circumstances and subordinated to the necessity of intellectual tasks needing attention. In his work he was systematic, painstaking and withal extremely conscientious, insisting always on the completion of his official tasks before taking up the work of his leisure hours. He regularly verified his quotations or references, often spending hours in finding the original source needed and his ambition was to make no statement not susceptible of proof. He had a puritanic sense of duty, punctiliously fulfilling his promises and engagements. In his last days he kept at his class work long after other men would have taken to their beds and even then he would not stop until assured that his classes would be continued during his illness. Since his income always had been rather small he had learned close economy and hence of necessity refrained from expenditures for amusement in itself. As long as he lived he worked hard, lived closely and steeled himself so as to "hew to the line" and to give little heed to the many distractions and enticements of social life. He lived, therefore, a rather lonely life, having, to be sure, many friends, but persons who for the most part were, like himself, devoted to their work, so that these were met chiefly at intellectual and scientific gatherings.

In the larger sense of the word Ward was deeply religious, not theologically nor ecclesiastically, but in the idealism of his morals and his aspiration to make achievements helpful to humanity. He

had a strong belief that his sociological teachings would make possible a more rapid rate to human progress and that as these became accepted and put into effect the average man would become proportionately happier in his daily life. Raised as he was under frontier conditions and in poverty, used to work with hands as well as head, he was democratic through and through and hence preached the gospel of equal opportunity that each might attain the best of which he was capable.

As an intellectual worker Ward was the very embodiment of order and system. From 1860 to the time of his death he kept a diary, writing down scrupulously at the end of every day its chief events, especially those that bore upon his literary life.⁵ He kept a careful record also of the facts respecting his numerous writings and in addition a complete scrap book system of twenty-three volumes, classified under the headings, *Reviews and Press Notices*, *Autograph Letters* and *Biography*. In his reading he read systematically, noting important passages or thoughts and indexing them with cross references in his filing system, for, in order to be able to locate any item easily, he made a thorough card index of every name, subject, or important key word contained in his diaries or scrapbooks, or noted in his reading. A series of supplementary letter files systematically arranged completed his filing system. Whenever possible he worked standing at a high desk and in doing his literary work he used the pencil or the pen, not a typist or a typewriter, these being made use of only in official business. In *Glimpses of the Cosmos* he explains the methods he used in writing each of his

⁵ After his death his relatives in a moment of temporary insanity destroyed these priceless diaries, some forty in number.

several sociological works, but these are too lengthy for quotation.

When he entered Brown University as professor of sociology he was sixty-five years of age and practically without experience in class room work beyond occasional lecture courses at summer sessions of universities. In the class room he was not inspirational in type but his age, dignity, and thorough knowledge became a sort of inspiration to his students who revered him and personally liked him, so that it became "the thing" to have at least one course under him as a valuable college experience. In preparation for a course he blocked out the entire subject for a year, wrote on cards the essential points of each part, and lectured from these. His arrangement of subjects was so orderly and his blackboard drawings so graphic, that the class had no difficulty in following him. He invited questions but preferred straight lecturing and relied much on papers prepared on assigned subjects. During his last five years, his wife being ill, he lived in a dormitory among the students, who often availed themselves of his invitation to call. There was much sadness on the campus when the half-masted flag gave information of the passing of the great teacher.

Mrs. Emily Palmer Cape, who collaborated with him in the preparation of *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, in her little volume, *Lester F. Ward*, stresses in her description of him his emotional nature, his kindly humor, and his deep sympathy with nature. She quotes as applicable to him Comte's characterization of a true leader of humanity—one who has "the mind of a sage, the heart of a woman, and the soul of a poet."

In mentality Ward was unquestionably a genius but not of the erratic abnormal sort emphasized by Lombroso. By heredity he had a strong physique and a capable

mind; the outdoor life of his boyhood strengthened his physique but the absence of systematic schooling and broad intellectual contacts, coupled with the absence of libraries during these boyhood years, proved to be a real handicap to his mental development. His war experiences and their aftermath possibly account for the intense radicalism of his early anti-ecclesiastical attitude, but the times themselves were controversial since Darwinism and evolutionary teachings were under discussion and theology was on the defensive.

After that "period of storm and stress" he settled down definitely to his life work and during the next ten years in his leisure hours he completed the manuscript for *Dynamic Sociology*. He was then about forty years of age and embodied in this work practically all the main ideas of what may be called his system of sociology. In the next thirty or more years of life still remaining he considerably broadened out his general knowledge by constant reading, discussion and reflection, so that in his later works modifications of his earlier views and a changing emphasis may be noticed. Hence, though in general it is true that his later works contain nothing not stated or hinted in *Dynamic Sociology*, yet it would be unfortunate had the later volumes not been written. These represent his matured conclusions as to the essentials of his teachings, omission indicating those that might best be ignored, and enlargement, those that should receive more prominence than was given them in his earlier work. His *Psychic Factors* and *Applied Sociology*, for example, place vigorous emphasis on the achievement of genius and the place of the psychic in a sociocracy characterized by telesis.

Ward's chief sociological works are (1) *Dynamic Sociology*, two volumes, 1883;

(2) *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 1893; (3) *Outlines of Sociology*, 1898; (4) *Pure Sociology*,⁶ 1903; (5) *Applied Sociology*, 1906. All of these have been translated into other languages, although not all into each language. Translations into German, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Polish and Japanese are mentioned by Ward in his *Glimpses of the Cosmos*. His other work, aside from the several volumes of botanical and geological material,⁷ is his *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, originally planned by him to be issued in twelve volumes, but reduced to six after his death owing to lack of funds for publication. This series is rather unique in that it presents a chronological arrangement of everything Ward ever published, "great and small, good, bad and indifferent," exclusive of books and large illustrated memoirs and monographs. Ward's thought was that by such an arrangement the development of his intellectual life might best be traced, from the callow productions of early youth to the matured reflections of later manhood. Volume I, for example, is made up almost wholly of articles written before he was thirty years of age, many of which were printed in the *Iconoclast*, of which he was editor, hitting at the errors and supposedly false teachings of religion. Volume II, the next ten years, is chiefly botanical, showing his absorption in that field. Volume III continues the botanical but also devotes itself largely to Sociology, since *Dynamic Sociology* was now in print. The remaining three volumes cover almost

the entire field of knowledge, though with the greatest stress on the teaching of the social sciences and of psychology. The whole set of six volumes covers a literary period of fifty-five years.

In order properly to appreciate Ward's system of Sociology one should keep clearly in mind the social environment of his first forty years. His first sixteen years were spent on what was then the frontier pioneer life of the middle west, in touch with nature and the soil, but with little opportunity for education. In the following five years he managed to secure while supporting himself education enough for college entrance, an education made up chiefly of languages, both ancient and modern, along with some mathematics, of which he was not fond. His next ten years included his first marriage, his war experience ended by three gunshot wounds, and then a governmental clerkship and his collegiate years at Columbian. The support of a family on a small salary, the pursuit of an education, and his clerical duties all combined drove him hard, yet he found time also to edit the *Iconoclast*, writing most of its contents during the brief duration of its existence.⁸ This was the period of a post war psychology and a radicalism that revolted against the established order. Throughout this period of formal education he had no scientific studies of any value and his interests were largely in the field of philosophy and education. He started the next decade (1871-1881) with a clear conviction that education was the great panacea for human progress and began systematic reading in philosophy, religion and the sciences, being especially attracted by the works of Francis Bacon, Kant, and Draper and of Agassiz, Lyell, Haeckel, Comte and Spencer. Meanwhile, he de-

⁶ *The Textbook of Sociology*, 1905, by Dealey and Ward, is mainly a condensation of this volume.

⁷ His chief botanical work was entitled *Guide to the Flora of Washington and Vicinity*. For an account of his botanical studies see *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Volume II, pages 448-464. His geological and paleobotanical works are contained in nine large illustrated memoirs published by the United States Geological Survey.

⁸ From March, 1870, to August, 1871.

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⁹ *Pure*

voted himself to the study of botany, and later of anthropology and geology, and during the whole decade devoted himself to the preparation of the manuscript that ultimately became *Dynamic Sociology*. In Washington itself he was in contact with a large intellectual and scientific circle of kindred minds and in this cultural atmosphere, through discussion and the presentation of papers at literary and scientific gatherings, he broadened out in his attainment and in his world view of life. In this he was greatly aided by his second wife who was deeply interested in aesthetic studies and worked harmoniously with him until 1908 when she became permanently invalidic. This large social environment, therefore, formed the background for his *Dynamic Sociology*, which was completed in 1880 and published in 1883. Volume I of this work shows the influence of his scientific and other reading during the seventies, and Volume II represents his earlier stress on progress and education. From this period also there survives a large unpublished manuscript on education, substantially in harmony with the famous Chapter XIV in Volume II.

After 1883 his reading widened in scope and became more systematic, making notes and indexing whatever he read. He rarely read for recreation merely but rather when in search for material for reflection and supplementary to his own scientific pursuits. In his special scientific studies—botany, paleobotany and geology—he was a close and exact observer and made many worthwhile contributions to the knowledge of these subjects, since he traveled extensively at home and in Europe and brought to his studies an eager interest and a keen and synthesizing mind. His theory of sympodial development⁹ illustrates the originality of his

thought in this field and his monistic application of this to social development.

In other scientific studies, both inorganic and organic, he followed carefully the newer teachings of the sciences that multiplied so rapidly after 1860, more especially the kaleidoscopic development of biology, anthropology and psychology, realizing as he did that these were basal for sociology in which field he manifested a growing interest. His thorough training in science and scientific methods enabled him to criticize and to appreciate new points of view as they appeared, so that his numerous smaller writings from 1883 up to the time of his death testify to his wide knowledge of and his deep sympathy with the broadening field of knowledge.

As a sociologist his comprehension of the many fields of science enabled him to grasp the unity of knowledge, to stress the relationship or filiation of all the sciences, and to illustrate sociological teachings by analogous teachings in other sciences. This, however, to many made the reading of his works difficult since they were in general unfamiliar with the sciences; others also were repelled by the numerous words of Greek derivation that he coined so as to express his thought more concisely, so that his works never met with large sales. They were read by the few, not by the many. As a matter of fact his style is remarkably clear and logical, stressing a simple English vocabulary wherever possible. At times his sentences are eloquent and almost rhythmic since much of his work he wrote when his head and his heart were so full that they demanded expression in literary form.

In the last third of his life he had become so absorbed in his teachings that the personal pronouns became prominent, giving the appearance of egotism. He did, to be sure, realize that he had a well trained

⁹ *Pure Sociology*, pages 71-79.

and capable mind and that he had done some excellent work, yet at heart, as already explained, he was very modest and in gatherings never sought to dominate the discussion or to assert his own point of view, preferring to hear others speak when they had thoughts worthy of expression. The writer once sat by his side while he meekly listened to a young instructor in philosophy who was explaining to him a point in Kant's teachings, a subject Ward had studied for seven years. Yet not by a word did he intimate to the young man that the matter was very familiar to him. When prominence did come to Ward because of his recognized merit, he assumed it naturally and in action showed himself easily to be *primus inter pares*.

In the last five years of his life at Providence, the absence of his wife who was then a permanent invalid at Washington under her sister's care and the consequent loss of companionship, coupled with the constant drains on his purse, distinctly depressed him and probably shortened his life through a too close economy and unremitting labor without much relaxation. On the other hand, he often asserted that his years at Brown University were the happiest of his life, since he was free from the routine of governmental service and could devote all of his time to his studies in the midst of an intellectual atmosphere. Though past seventy years at death, he really died prematurely, when both body and mind were still powerful and when many thoughts written in note form only were awaiting literary expression.

In the sociological world there is no definite agreement as to what constitutes the field of sociology. The field is becoming highly specialized and each specialist tends to assume that his is the real field, so that, as a graduate student once

remarked, "I have studied fifty-seven different varieties and don't yet know what sociology itself is." To Ward all this sort of thing was anathema. (All knowledge is one, he taught, each particular science is merely a differentiation of science, so that all sciences are inter-related and may be synthesized into one philosophy. The great fields of scientific knowledge may be arranged in logical order into a series, from the cosmic and the inorganic, through the organic and the psychic to the social, which supplies the crowning science from the anthropocentric point of view.

This theory of the classification of sciences, first worked out by Comte, Ward asserted to be, "the most sublime, interesting, and important idea of the nineteenth century." It is clear, therefore, that Ward continued the Comtean, Spencerian tradition of a synthetic philosophy, but, with the advantage of another generation of intense research and scientific development, he was able to transcend their teachings and through his stress on the psychic factor in civilization to blaze out a new path in the study of sociology. If one may use Ward's botanical illustration, each of these three writers represents a symple in the development of sociology.

In *Dynamic Sociology*¹⁰ and in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*¹¹ Ward summarizes what in his opinion has been his contribution to the world's thought. In the first reference five contributions are named and in the second, eighteen. Hints or "adumbrations" of these he admits may be found before his views were in print, but he asserts that he was the first clearly to enunciate them and to give them place in a scheme of scientific philosophy. Many of these are not really sociological teach-

¹⁰ Preface to the first edition.

¹¹ Volume I, pages lxxviii to lxxxix.

ings but belong to the field of a monistic and synthetic philosophy. They illustrate well the type of thought that characterized Ward's genius. Surveying in his mind's eye the entire field of knowledge as he saw it, he sought by meditation and comparison to ascertain the few simple generalizations that should underlie all knowledge, if it is unitary. These broad universal generalizations, if known, would obviously illuminate the mass of endless detail of human knowledge, seemingly without order or significance, and would suggest the fundamental principles basal to each particular science, including, therefore, sociology. (To Ward the complex mass of sociological data cannot properly be comprehended unless it be integrated with the other sciences in the series and its teachings coordinated with the broad generalizations synthesized from the deductions of these sciences. In other words, sociological fundamentals must be integrated with the teachings of psychology, and these with the teachings of biology, and these again with the teachings derived from the study of the inorganic in the universe. Ward, therefore, in his researches was continually seeking for laws and principles basal in a monistic, synthesized, coordinated field of sciences explanatory of cosmic phenomena. For that reason he had no special interest in particular fields of social science, except to show the relation of these to the fundamental teachings of a synthetic social philosophy. As one might put it, trees should be seen in their relation to the forest of which they form a part. Obviously few in any one generation possess the wide knowledge and generalizing type of mind needed to grasp clearly the synthetic aspect of the whole field of knowledge, so that, lacking such philosophic leaders, sociology is differentiating into innumerable specialized studies,

each apparently complete in itself, yet lacking that integrating perspective that puts it into relations with kindred knowledge. Differentiation, however, without integration, leads on to chaos, so that from time to time sociologists must return to synthetic coordinating processes and in so doing must inevitably retrace somewhat fully the steps marked out in Ward's synthetic social philosophy. Space will not permit of a lengthy exposition of the cosmic teachings he would emphasize, but in brief they may be summarized as follows, prefacing with the remark that these in his opinion are not merely speculative, but are founded on scientific facts or on scientific hypotheses in process of proof or disproof.

The universe, he taught, is energy, pulsating, creative, since there is a constant compounding and recompounding of conflicting manifestations of energy (the principle of synergy), resulting in a series of cosmic creations, such as the so-called elements and their compounds in chemistry or the particular energies and mass bodies of physics including stellar systems, or the protoplasmic cell and its myriad compounds in biology, or the organic nervous system with its instincts, its feelings and its capacity to think, and finally the social group and the social phenomena and activity arising from the contact of mind with mind, or mind in contact with its manifold environment. These innumerable "synthetic creations of nature" are dynamos of stored energy, finding their highest expression to us in human kind, combining in itself the great sympodes—life, feeling, thought, and social creative achievement.

These synthetic creations of nature are evolutionary, each later one in the series evolving from what preceded and hence all are filiated. The scientific philosopher, therefore, should seek to show by

study and research this filiated evolution, as, for example, the differential of protoplasm from chemical compounds, the slow evolution of feeling and then of intellect in protoplasmic compounds, and the rise of social groups from the undifferentiated horde of zoölogic man.

Obviously this teaching is throughout monistic and synthetic. Basal to the cosmos is energy, the *nisus* of nature, the God of religion, working, continuous, comprehensible to the human mind, itself part of the whole, manifesting itself in creations stored in structures functioning each after its own nature but all in harmony with one common principle, monistic, materialistic, yet at the same time deeply spiritual in its highest manifestations. The stars and the mind of man are but differentiations of world energy, having a common origin but differing structures and functions. Human beings are akin to animal and plant and these to the inorganic world and basally to the energy of the universe. Energy is creative, constructive, so that even apparent destruction is reconstruction. An appreciation of this teaching and of man's kinship in the universe was in Ward's opinion the essence of ethics and religion, since man is a part of the beginning and the end and is himself the highest manifestation of creative energy known to the mind. He is a part of all that is, the microcosm of the macrocosm, and is himself part of eternity.

Passing now more definitely to Ward's sociological teaching, he, after seeking to trace from biological bases the rise, differentiation and development of intellect, sought to show that the feeling aspect of the human mind is the dynamo, the "dynamic agent," back of human and hence of social activity. The essential teaching is that feelings, wants, desires, ambitions, aspirations drive men on to action and hence in sociology the psy-

chology of feeling is fundamental. The Freudian, psychoanalytic school in psychology illustrates one aspect of such a study and the stress on "interests" in many aspects of social studies furnishes another.

Feeling unregulated, he argues, leads to destruction and hence arises his contrast between feeling and function. Organisms function through structure and feeling is an aid to function because of the pleasant sensation involved in functioning and the pain arising from non-functioning. With the rise of awareness or "consciousness" the joy of pleasure and dislike of pain may result in making feeling an end in itself, resulting in excess, as in gluttony, and ultimate death. Hence arises the rational intellect as an aid to feeling, which, when well informed through experience and contact, perceives consequences both good and bad, thus serving as a guide or "directive agent" to the feelings, so that it suggests inhibition when necessary for ends perceived in the mind, or suggests expression when striving for ends approved.

In social life these restraints and approvals voice themselves in social institutions, in moral codes and laws, which restrict, regulate, or allow expression to human feelings in their various manifestations according as society in its wisdom or unwisdom determines. From the standpoint of social psychology, therefore, it is essential that human feeling or feelings be clearly understood and then intelligently controlled, (social control), so as to attain socially desirable ends. In order, however, that guidance or control be intelligent, it is necessary that the intellect be well informed, so that when decisions are made they may be approximately correct. Feeling, therefore, in Ward's psychology is dynamic, it is energy, and energizes its organism into activity; intellect, by contrast, is not energizing but illuminative, it directs or

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guides and can best perform its function when rightly informed or educated.

Feelings unregulated, or a social control that merely suppresses or sternly regulates is wasteful. Feeling is energy and should be utilized, not wasted. The office of the intellect is to eliminate waste. Organic nature undirected by intellect is extremely wasteful but when regulated and controlled by well informed intellect, waste is largely or wholly eliminated; this makes the contrast between the wasteful "economy of nature" and the efficient "economy of mind." A well informed intellect, familiar with its own nature and with human feelings and aims may serve as a guide to human activity, turning it aside from wasteful and destructive action towards those that make for constructive activities and human progress.

These psychological teachings of Ward became basal for his main teachings in sociology and these will now briefly be mentioned. The feelings, being the dynamic aspect of the mind, are the "forces" that urge to action. In group life similarly group needs or desires become the social forces. Of course all social forces are in individuals, felt in their minds, but general needs for the preservation and development of the group become group or social forces. Ward gives a classification of these, naming two chief aspects; those that stress group safety and continuity, and those that elevate or spiritualize, such as the ethical, the aesthetic and the intellectual.

Group feelings, like other feelings, are in need of guidance, or direction, if they are to function safely, so that there is need of social guidance or social control. Social control in its highest manifestation becomes social or collective *telesis*. *Telesis* implies that the social ends to be attained are well known and that the

ways and means whereby the ends may be attained have been scientifically ascertained. Given this information, the next step is that the social forces move towards the ends desired, guided by the "directive agent," the intellect, following the ways and means determined in advance. *Telesis*, therefore, is not merely purpose, it is purpose combined with scientific knowledge of how to accomplish one's purpose. It is like a combination of an architect's plan and the contractor's estimates, so that when the desire wills compliance with the whole plan, the command is given, action begins and in due time the desired end is attained.

Telesis, it will be noted, is the "economy of mind," eliminating wastefulness in action. The ends sought are attained with the least possible expenditure of energy commensurate with the task. This telic notion applied to social progress is one of the great contributions made by Ward. Nature makes progress in evolutionary fashion, but the natural process is extremely wasteful, meandering in all directions like a slow current on a level plain, instead of going straight forward to the goal as a canal would, for example, if planned by competent engineers. Society, therefore, should not drift aimlessly to and fro, backwards and forwards, without guidance. Rather, the group should carefully study its situations, comprehend the aims it desires to accomplish, study scientifically the best methods for the attainment of these, and then concentrate social energy to the task set before it. The method of the Social Survey illustrates the telic method applied to social improvement.

If society should become fairly conscious of its desired ends, and should become intelligent enough to employ *telesis*, it would then become *sociocratic*, since stress would be placed on a form of control

working constructively for the upbuilding of the whole of society, not merely of a segment of it as in class control, and hence will furnish to all opportunity for the development of whatever capacity each may have. Intelligent social control eliminating the waste of energy through teleis, would result in *attractive legislation*. For social control, which includes the political, should so frame law and regulation that these would appeal to the individual as fair and worthwhile, thus tending towards a cheerful compliance with law, thereby eliminating much social friction. All repressive laws and those sternly regulative in sort are *prima facie* defective. As the human mind becomes scientifically known, and the feelings appreciated as the dynamic aspect of the mind, and the intellect acquires greater intelligence through wiser education so as to furnish wise guidance, society will develop systems of organization and control so completely that prohibitions and repressions will cease and law, meeting with the approbation of an intelligent public opinion, will become self-enforcing. Teleis applied to legislation will make it "attractive."

A telic society will unquestionably aim to develop individual as well as general welfare, for after all, society is but a group of individuals and the higher these are in development the better for society. Real progress, whether social or individual, depends on *achievement*, the sum total of which makes civilization. Achievement is human creative synthesis. Nature creates and man also is a creator. He synthesizes differing things into a new combination, a new unity, a creation. It may be mechanistic as in invention; it may be a newer comprehension of nature so as to utilize its energies more fully, as in scientific discovery; it may be new combinations of ideas and matter as in an

artistic creation or new combinations of thoughts or spiritual insight as in philosophy or morals or religion. Social structures, the social institutions, the social order are achievements; codes of conduct, ethical or legal, anything in short that comes *de novo* into existence through human agency, are achievements. It is human energy and intelligence constructively seeking expression in material invention and in non-material creations in fields of culture. The achievement Ward stresses is the cultural which, developed on the basis of the material, becomes that socializing spiritualizing factor that gives to mankind its greatest joy and happiness. In other words, his monism is not materialistic but finds its complete expression in the cultural, spiritual achievements of mankind.

Real achievements, however, the best achievements, are the work of the few, the original minds, the genius type, whose lives have fallen into the sort of social environment that is able to draw out potential capacity. Many minds of high caliber remain dormant, unachieving, or waste themselves in anti-social directions through lack of stimulus in their social environment. A telic society conscious of the need of larger and higher achievement would study scientifically potential talent and genius so as to ascertain the sort of environment best suited for the stimulation of potential genius. This argument of Ward's is best developed in *Applied Sociology*, in which inductive studies seem to indicate what aspects of a social environment are best calculated to multiply achievement by the development of potential into actual genius. Should society become telic in this matter, he shows, achievement could be accelerated and civilization advanced.

This argument of his, however, is not one applicable to the small number of

geniuses only, for the same environment suited to the genius is also best for the average man who under stimulus might readily double or treble capacity, thus making a more efficient population, better able to appreciate the worth of achievement and to add to it in their degree. In this teaching one finds that strong democratic trend so manifest in Ward's sociology. Civilization and achievement are not for the enjoyment of the few only, but for the many also. All persons are entitled to life and the happiness of life, and when society telicly furnishes opportunity through a right environment, the average man will give recompense through his added efficiency and minor achievements. This teaching he would apply also to the defectives and the criminal classes; most of these, he argues, are capable of better things if rightly environed, and the expense of this would be amply met by the saving of wasted expenditures in caring for them under present conditions.

In this same discussion he raises a favorite question as to the place of women in civilization. This question interested Ward almost from the beginning of his literary career and he returned to it again and again. In his famous Chapter XIV of *Pure Sociology* he sought to work out a biological and social argument to the effect that in nature femaleness is fundamental and maleness accidental or variational. From this he reaches the conclusion that in humankind woman is at least equal and possibly superior to man in inherent worth, and that if woman were given larger opportunity and a more stimulating environment, she also would demonstrate her talent and genius and make achievement. He makes the point also that in primitive civilization woman was the great achiever in social creativeness and not the man. Hence he ad-

vocated the freedom of woman with full rights that she might take her rightful place in social progress as one capable of high achievement. This argument of his, first formally advanced in 1888, attracted wide attention and did much to give a sort of scientific basis to the demand for women's rights. His arguments in fact were widely used by women and did much to further that cause.

In this aspect one may again see Ward's democratic trend. All classes and both sexes have capacity as yet potential. Some are genius in type, others are moron, many are ordinary, but a scientifically arranged environment will tend to draw forth capacity, whether of one or many talents, and thereby aid in the elimination of the most wasteful of wastes, the waste of unutilized human energy.

This argument also he applies to the theory of racial superiority and inferiority. He is frankly skeptical as to any inherent psychic differences in races but admits that as yet (1906) no scientific decision is possible. His argument is to the effect that the hypothetical unity of the human race implied an essential agreement in quality, though differentiation in past centuries did take place through modifications due to the selective processes of varying geographic, economic and social environments. Human achievement, he thought, by annihilating distance would once again tend to unify the human race, integrating the races through the slow processes of assimilation and amalgamation. In the long run he foresaw the ultimate integration of mankind, the "long run" being not a few generations but those several millions of years during which the earth will remain suited to an advanced civilization.

In Ward's inductive study seeking to ascertain what are the important factors in a social environment suited to achieve-

ment, he concludes that the two chief factors are leisure through economic achievement, and contact with a cultural environment including education. He did not think of education as necessarily voiced by modern school systems, yet admittedly these in theory aim to impart to each newer generation the social heritage of the passing generation. A real curriculum, he thought, should, aside from mental tools such as language, logic and mathematics, impart an appreciation of the universe in which we live, especially of organic nature and more especially of the psychic and social world about us. An appreciative knowledge of the universe of which we form a part and of organic and social relationships would correspond to the love for God and man considered as the essence of religion. A truly religious man is one who comprehends the unity of things and sees himself as part of whatever is. This same teaching he applied to ethics; the ethics of restraint or prohibition made no appeal to him since it savored of low civilization. True ethics is positive, monistic, constructive, so that in a sense one may sin against animal or plant or even physical nature as well as against man. In his several works he traces in a masterly manner the beginnings of ethical conduct in what he calls "the group sentiment of safety," through group morals, the rise of the individual conscience, on to the larger ethics when moral codes embodying specialized interests become merged into humanitarian ethics. In this stage human interests become harmonized, culminating in that world code when human beings appreciate fully their relationship to the universe and to all sorts and conditions of men.

Naturally such a complete harmonization of human interests is speculative and if attained at all lies in the dim distant future. Ward's stress is on present human

progress, through telesis, and this is the climax of his sociological teaching. Progress is based on economic achievement, sociocratic in kind, thus affording leisure for all. Having leisure, education becomes possible and through that human capacity is enlarged for achievement, both material and cultural. Furthermore, humanity is not to be considered as a specialized class, or as the male sex, or as a superior race, but includes all classes, both sexes, and all races alike.

In working out a theory of human progress, Ward argues that there are three principles, and only three, that need be comprehended and applied in a program of social improvement. These three "dynamic principles" he labels: difference in potential, innovation, and conation. These can be simply explained, remembering that every achievement is a synthetic creation and that the multiplication of achievement implies progress. In making achievement one may (1) synthesize differences into a new creation or (2) develop a dormant capacity by a suitable environment, or (3) comprehend one's environment so well as to be able to modify it so as to suit one's wish. In illustration of these one might suggest (1) the contact and blending of differing cultures, (2) the actualizing of potential genius and (3) scientific discoveries such as the germ theory of disease. A telic society, therefore, should see with some clearness the goal it desires to attain, should carefully study situations as they exist, and then should seek to work out a solution of its problems along the lines of these three principles, which embody the essential processes in social development.

In economic and political questions Ward made no special study and what he had to say grew out from his social teachings. Naturally, therefore, he turned away from the paternalism of

Comte and the *laissez-faire* attitude of Spencer, and, emphasizing as he did sociocracy, the state becomes an important agency in the accomplishment of social ends. Government is not a "necessary evil" but most useful when directed for social meliorism. Likewise, economic activity is not an end in itself but rather is the necessary foundation on which must be erected a cultural civilization. Economic achievement therefore is to be encouraged, but more attention paid to "consumption," to the development of fair living standards, so that all may share in the benefits of achievement. Illiterate, poorly skilled or unskilled labor is always a handicap to civilization and the cost of education is nominal as compared with the benefits that would come to society through its elimination. Sociocracy as a form of government is not to be identified with Marxianism, to which he was opposed, but he would use government as an agency for the improvement of the conditions of the poor and for constructive social activity.

Yet in advocating this he was not partial to charity or to other palliatives. Social problems demand not charity but *telesis* aiming at the causes of social weaknesses. In the interim, of course, constructive charity may be necessary. All forms of social evil he considered as part of the present social system, best solved by *indirection*, which is another aspect of *telesis*. A broad diffusion of knowledge, social and scientific, would automatically rid society of many social evils, and skill in work, bringing larger wage returns would free workers from many of the evils attendant on unskill and a low wage system.

In discussing the family, Ward had more definite teachings since his stress on sex equality and women's achievement implies an upward movement in domestic

morals. Marriage, he argued, is destined to pass from a physical, economic basis to one based on emotionalism (romanticism) and an intellectual appreciation of each other's qualities and hence will become more permanent in type and of course monogamous. In kinship also the blood bond should be supplemented by mutual appreciation and a broadening of kinship so as to include all humanity.

Stressing education as much as he did, Ward, like Plato, anticipated the time when the curriculum would impart that sort of knowledge needed to make citizens of character and intellect and when the educator would be the wise leader in social *telesis*. The crying need is not for more knowledge, but for the widest possible diffusion of the best of what is already extant. It is easy to multiply knowledge, it is hard to diffuse it broadly and among those that need it most. The problem of the broad diffusion of attractive information, stimulating to self improvement and to achievement is the most important problem that society has before it.

In this exposition of Ward's life and teachings no attempt has been made to call attention to his errors of reasoning and defects of judgment, which he in common with other men made now and then in his argument. It would be absurd to claim that all he asserted must necessarily be true. In due time the blunders he made will pass into oblivion but the truths he taught should place him in Comte's list of the immortals. In his system of sociology it is obvious that his conclusions are not usually based on personal studies of concrete facts. In his scientific studies of some thirty years his work was almost entirely of that sort, as shown in his botanical and geological monographs. In his generation, however, comparatively few inductive studies had been made in the field of social phe-

nomena and to some the methodology of those few seems defective in these days. Nor had he the time nor the inclination to make such studies himself. To Ward it seemed more important in his day to master the best thought of the time, including the newer scientific teachings of the nineteenth century, and then to synthesize all into a coherent whole, supplemented by his own thought-contributions wherever he found gaps or defects in this synthesizing philosophy. These contributions he was able to make because of his marvellous grasp of the several fields of science in their interrelations, a grasp much broader and deeper than that held by his immediate predecessors, Spencer and Comte, and also because of his keen, logical intellect and his deep insight into the inner unity of this monistic universe. He is the first great sociologist to indicate scientific bases for sex equality, for democracy and racial unity; the first to mark out the roads to social meliorism

and progress, and the first to stress the place of psychic factors in a civilization becoming telic.

His teachings in their original form, *Dynamic Sociology*, have now been before the reading world for over forty years; they can be read in the languages of the great nations of the world and are slowly becoming familiar to the thinking public. Much that he said and taught has become common property, numerous authors have taken his ideas, often unconsciously, and elaborated them, sometimes thereby gaining credit for the thought itself. His works are a treasure house of living thought and this will survive, perhaps long after the books themselves have grown musty on neglected shelves. Yet in future years, when another generation with a larger perspective estimates the scientifically based social philosophies of the past and passing generations, Lester Frank Ward will surely be ranked high among America's masters of social science.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES: THE GALTON-PEARSON APPROACH

FRANK H. HANKINS

FROM the beginning of the modern democratic movement the doctrine of an inherent equality among men has been persistent. While the assertion that "all men are created equal" as set forth in the famous Declaration has not been taken literally by the majority of informed writers, it has, nevertheless, been held by many as a fundamental article of faith. As such it has been ill-defined; facts obviously in conflict with it have been passed over in silence or in scorn. Being considered essential to the ideals of democracy, it has been, like other doctrines which are

fervently avowed with the weighty emotional values of religious mysticism, immune to criticism. Its constant reiteration has been the chief evidence of its patent validity.

Even among men of scientific and philosophical training, especially in the United States, a deeply grounded faith in democracy has carried with it belief in the essential equality of men. The doctrine, semi-religious in itself, has had a powerful religious sanction in the Christian hope of human brotherhood. Consequently, under its impulsion have developed many of the most characteristic

features of present civilization. The suffrage has been made universal; even the immemorial prejudice of sex inferiority dissolved before the mystical potency of egalitarian ideas. In fact, not a few of the more hysterical and visionary feminists seemed to picture in a rather nebulous form a coming millennial state in which woman would be at last "free and equal," enjoying not merely civil and political equality, not merely economic equality and hence freedom from male domination, but also a sort of undefined biological freedom and equality, a state in which babies would be secured by adoption or from incubators and reared by motherless nurseries.

The doctrine of equality has been a potent factor in the development of the American scheme of popular education. There probably is no more widespread illusion in this country than that any one by effort and education can reach any level in the economic or social scale. There certainly is no doctrine more dear to the popular mind, nor one more productive of preferment for the petty politician or of "filthy lucre" for the professional inspirationalist who "cures" the office boy, the clerk, the tired business man and the "disappointed in love" of one set of illusions by creating another. This is not to question the value of popular education or of illusions. To destroy the one would be to extract from American life much of its vim and resourcefulness; and to destroy the other would leave many an individual hesitant and spiritless. Moreover, we have definitely entered upon an elaboration and diversification of facilities for popular education which will actually enlarge opportunity through adaptation of training to individual bent and capacity.

The doctrine is equally potent in the field of economics and social reform. It

is a vital center of a large part of the propaganda of socialism and communism. The chief evils of the present order are popularly considered to be the inequalities of income and standards of life with the consequent exploitation of the poor by the rich, the weak by the strong. Hence the vast majority of programs for social improvement are imbued with ideas of equalization of opportunity, of income, of wealth, of work or of responsibility and directing authority. Much of this, like the feminism of W. L. George and his ilk, is a sort of group "flight from reality," an escape from the dreadfully pressing and embittering facts of human inequality. The fine-spirited, broad-minded humanist joins hands and hearts with the plodding worker in dreaming of a proletarian millenium in which work will be less in quantity and more equal in distribution, while pay will be greater in quantity and also more equally shared by all. But in spite of popular education, in spite of universal suffrage, in spite of labor legislation with its eight-hour day and minimum wage, in spite of labor parties and the socialist vote the inequalities of social life have persisted.

The educational statistics reveal how grossly unequal the educational attainment is, even in the purest American communities. Of the hordes who enter the schools, vast troops drop out at the fourth, fifth, sixth and eighth grades, leaving a small residuum for the high-school and a still smaller body for the college.¹ The statistics of wealth

¹ See Ayers, L. P., *Laggards in our Schools* (N. Y., 1909); Blow, A. B., *A Special Study of the Incidence of Retardation*, Teachers' College, 1911; Strayer, G. D., *Age and Grade Census of Schools and Colleges. A Study of Retardation and Elimination*, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1911; Thorndike, E. L., *Elimination of Pupils from School*, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1907; and Keyes, C. H., *Progress Through the Grades of City Schools*, Teachers' College, 1911.

and income indicate that a favored few own most of the wealth and take an undue share of the income, while "the masses" own next to nothing and receive less than a "decent American standard of living" requires.² Conditions are even worse, that is, more unequal in these respects in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere. We are shocked to learn that even in the administration of justice there is a fatal lack of equality, especially as between rich and poor, while the social observer must be struck with the varying capacities of men, women and children to utilize, to enjoy, to exploit whatever environmental opportunity or whatever event with which they come in contact. One thus realizes that liberty and justice, even education and opportunity, are not merely objective and institutional in basis and character, but are in their concrete realization closely correlated with the qualities of the individual personality.

Now, the exact quantitative study of individual differences may be said to have begun in the researches of Adolf Quetelet, the founder of modern anthropometry. His earliest studies revealed the symmetrical distribution of measurements of height and chest circumferences about the average dimensions of a somewhat imaginary "average man" (*l'homme moyen*). He later made extended measurements on persons of all ages and thus elaborated a "law of growth" for the average or typical person of an extended group, an average from which there were characteristic variations after the manner of the law of distribution of chances. He also made some suggestive beginnings in the measurement of individual differences in their mental and moral activities.

² See King, W. I., *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, N. Y., 1915, and National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*, vols. 1 and 2, N. Y., 1921.

The development of Quetelet's ideas are readily traced. In his first and greatest work outside the field of astronomy, *Sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés, un essai de physique sociale* (2 vols., Paris, 1835) he summarized a number of his own studies and a considerable quantity of others relating to the physical and mental qualities of man. As he says in the "Preface" of *Du Système social et des lois qui le régissent* (Paris, 1848) he at that time (i.e. 1835) considered the "average man" merely as the mean between two limits. In the *Lettres sur la théorie des probabilités appliquée aux sciences morales et politiques* (Brussels, 1846) he conceived the "average man" as to height to be the mean about which the heights of men are grouped according to the law of accidental causes. But in *du Système* he showed "that the law of accidental causes is a general law which dominates our moral and intellectual qualities as well as our physical qualities." Thereafter Quetelet made some additional researches on human conduct and numerous ones on the height, weight and bodily proportions at various ages. These formed the basis of his *Anthropométrie ou mesure des différentes facultés de l'homme* (Brussels, 1870). In this he made use of a very considerable accumulation of anthropometrical data including such notable studies as those of Samuel Brown on soldiers and civilians in England and Scotland, the statistical investigations of Wagner, von Oettingen, Wappaeus and Held in Germany and Bodio in Italy, and the memorable *Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers* by B. A. Gould, published in 1869. In Quetelet, therefore, we find the beginnings of those statistical studies which have grown into the quantitative study of biological variation and mental and moral differentiation in man. He clearly demonstrated not only that men differ one from

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another but gave precision to our ideas as to the form in which the differences are distributed through a group.

The next stride was made by Francis Galton, who acknowledged his debt to Quetelet. Galton's work is, in fact, the main fountain-head for the varied streams of statistical measurements of individual differences in biology, psychology and education. He began with Quetelet's conception of the average and of the distribution around it and made these ideas fundamental in all reasoning regarding social, psychological and biological phenomena. His scientific interests were varied, but from first to last he showed great interest in the relative importance of heredity and environment in producing differences of personality and achievement. He repeatedly attacked this problem in various ingenious ways but notably from the standpoint of the superior men of a group. From his very first essay in this field, "Hereditary Talent and Character" (*Macmillan's Magazine*, 1865) Galton was moved by a strong belief in the importance of racial quality for social welfare and national achievement. He never lost sight of the practical aim to improve the hereditary stock of the nation. Doubtless his greatest contributions to science were his manifold improvements and inventions in the field of method; but his devising of methods was always subsidiary to the purpose of solving some fresh approach to problems directly or remotely related to his life theme. In this first essay he noted the ease with which animal breeders mold the qualities of the various domestic breeds; and called attention to the complete absence of any thought as to similar possibilities of improving the human stock. He rejected the current notion that the sons of distinguished men are in general below average capacity. One may recall here the still popular notions that the sons of

ministers turn out badly, and that the sons of the well-to-do are so shiftless that "there are three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." Galton cited numerous instances of the perpetuation of superiority in families. He thought great advances in national culture would follow the marriage of superior men and superior women and even suggested the endowment of a half-score marriages of couples selected for pre-eminent fitness. This essay is a prolegomenon for the more pretentious works which followed.

The first of these, *Hereditary Genius* (1869) deserves rank along side the *Origin of Species* as a contribution to science. In the "Preface" he points out that he is "the first to treat the subject (inheritance of ability) in a statistical manner, to arrive at numerical results and to introduce the 'law of deviation from the average' into discussions on heredity." That Darwin was much impressed with this work is shown by his frequent citations from it in *The Descent of Man* and by a letter to Galton in which he said: "You have made a convert of an opponent in one sense, for I have always maintained that, excepting fools, men did not differ much in intellect, only in zeal and hard work." Much progress has been made in the succeeding half-century, but there is still a vast company who hold to Darwin's earlier view that men differ little in natural abilities and that genius is only another name for great industry. It should be added, however, that few now believe what many believed in 1869, namely, that heredity has nothing to do with human traits. Galton's writings have done perhaps more than those of any one else to demonstrate the applicability of the laws of inheritance to man, especially to his mental and character traits.

This first great work of Galton's is a

landmark in the history of biological and sociological sciences. It is the beginning of biometry as a branch of biology; it is a notable contribution to scientific method in all sciences dealing with life; it was the first direct and epochal attempt at the solution of what is in many ways the fundamental problem of practical sociology, namely, the determination of the relative importance of biological and social factors in the determination of the social rank and achievement of individuals. With a wealth of data and precision of method he demonstrated beyond peradventure of doubt that superior ability runs in families, due primarily to the force of heredity. This proposition he supported by a bookful of pedigrees of judges, statesmen, the peerage, military leaders, and outstanding contributors to science, literature, music, painting, poetry, religion, the senior classics at Cambridge and athletics. In the "Preface" to the edition of 1892 he expressed regret at the choice of title because the hereditary genius he was studying was not the highly specialized talent commonly designated as genius. He himself substituted the term "natural ability" by which he meant what now figures in many discussions as general intelligence.

He works out a scale for the distribution of natural ability based directly on the law of chances as applied by Quetelet to physical traits. From an extensive study of biographies and a statistical analysis he concluded that Great Britain had had about 250 "eminent" men in each 1,000,000 males over fifty years of age. The term "eminent" here is far from precise, though not wholly lacking in objectivity for it includes the select portion of those whose names were included in *Men of the Time*. In a scale of abilities having seven or more grades either side of the median, these 250 "eminent" were all above the fifth grade

on the "superior" side. In the same scale 836,000 out of each million were included equally in the two grades above and the two grades below the median. Slightly more than one-half of each million were in the two middle grades. If one add to these two grades the next three grades on the inferior side one achieves a total of 754,120 in each million who may be said to constitute Galton's conception of "the masses," or "the democracy." Above them would be two grades constituting "the middle class" layers and aggregating about 22 per cent of the total. There would remain somewhat less than 3 per cent for "the upper classes." This was an early and admittedly rough estimate; it will be interesting later to compare it with more recent ones.

In the chapter on "Influences that Affect the Natural Ability of Nations" he discussed very cogently the differences in the social value of different family strains. He condemned the cloisters of the middle ages and the current celibacy of university men as tending to eliminate peaceful and refined moral types and strains possessing superior intelligence. In *The Comparative Worth of Different Races* he inferred that the population of Athens, 530 to 430 B.C., was one or two grades higher than that of modern England and produced "eminent" men ten to seventeen times as frequently. He added that, owing to the increasing complexity of modern civilization a higher type of ability will be required not merely to carry on our institutions but especially to maintain continued progress.

In another interesting section he calculated the differences in the relative contribution to succeeding generations of couples marrying at age twenty-two in contrast with those marrying at age thirty-three; an idea later given great practical and theoretical significance by Professor Karl Pearson under

the term, genetic or reproductive selection (See *Grammar of Science*, London, 1900, p. 439) or more recently and popularly, "differential birth-rates." Stocks that marry early have (1) more generations alive at any given time; (2) more generations in a century; and (3) more offspring in each generation. Galton here suggested the early marriages of the superior types. This is a logical suggestion as a means of preserving and elevating racial quality, but it is nevertheless paradoxical. Malthus found prudence, as shown by late marriage and small families, a mark of the superior elements in a population. Galton's proposal in the terms of Malthus would mean that the prudent should marry early and have numerous offspring, which amounts to a negation of prudence, and hence of the marks of superiority. Finally, considerable attention is given to questions of method, a matter in which Galton revealed remarkable ingenuity.

The *Hereditary Genius* is, therefore, a harbinger of Galton's numerous subsequent contributions. His great interest in the worth of different strains of blood in the population became his dominant practical interest. In an essay on "Hereditary Improvement" (*Frazer's Magazine*, January, 1873) he developed a theory of "viriculture" or the improvement of the breed without offense to moral feelings by the cultivation of a "sentiment of caste." He here suggested the organization of a society for continuous study of the facts of human heredity and variation, an idea later realized in the founding of the Eugenics Laboratory and the Eugenics Education Society.

In the next year he published *English Men of Science: their Nature and Nurture* (1874) summarizing the one hundred replies he had received to an elaborate questionnaire sent to one hundred and eighty scientific men. He was stimulated

to this by Alphonse de Candolle's *Histoire des sciences et des savants, depuis deux siècles*. The latter was in itself a sort of rejoinder to *Hereditary Genius*, being also a study of eminent men. De Candolle attributed little weight to heredity—except in the case of mathematicians; he criticized Galton's views as extreme and found the chief causes of eminence in education, home training and parental stimulation. In a review of the *Histoire des sciences* ("On the Causes Which Operate to Produce Scientific Men," *Fortnightly Review*, March 1, 1873) Galton sought to show that de Candolle had unwittingly shown the importance of heredity. Of his own *English Men of Science* he said in the preface that it strengthened the utmost claims he had ever made for the importance of the hereditary influences.

Nine years later appeared *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (1883). It is clear that men vary in physical traits and that these variations tend to be inherited,—is the same true of mental and moral traits? This extremely ingenious and suggestive work is of considerable significance in the history of mental measurement and experimental psychology. In addition to a study of the distribution of complexion in the British population and composite portraiture of the criminal, the tubercular, the imbecile, etc., there are studies of energy, sensitivity, weight discrimination, powers of hearing, color blindness, mental imagery, gregariousness, various likes and antipathies, number forms, color associations, visions and hallucinations, effects of early education and training, and various psychometric experiments. Some of his conclusions are of great interest here: he finds evidence of changes in complexion and features of the British population between the days of Holbein

(1497-1543) and 1880; he concludes that the average height of Englishmen in cities has declined, and that town life is injurious to fertility; he thinks good nurture tends to increase height; energy "is eminently transmissible by descent" and "in any scheme of eugenics energy is the most important quality to consider"; the most intellectual classes are gifted with the best perceptive powers, idiots lack keen senses, the blind do not excel the seeing nor the savage the civilized in sense powers. He again recurs to the relative contributions to population from early as contrasted with late marriages; and suggests that prizes and marks of merit might serve as a basis for practical eugenics.

Not the least significant section of this work is that on the *History of Twins* (pp. 155-173 in Everyman's Library edition). Twins are either "similar" ("identical") or "dissimilar" ("non-identical") and they have had either similar or dissimilar nurture. Galton finds that similar nurture does little to make dissimilar twins alike, while dissimilarity of training and experience scarcely affects the identity of twins that are similar.

The impression that all this evidence leaves on the mind is one of some wonder whether nurture can do anything at all, beyond giving instruction and professional training. . . . There is no escape from the conclusion that nature prevails enormously over nurture when the differences of nurture do not exceed what is commonly to be found among persons of the same rank of society and in the same country (p. 172).

While admitting some effects from early impressions he very penetratingly remarks:

Those teachings that conform to the natural aptitudes of the child leave much more enduring marks than others. Now both the teachings and the natural aptitudes of the child are usually derived from the parents. . . . The marks left on the memory by the instructions of a foster-mother are soon sponged clean away. Consider the history of

the cuckoo, which is reared exclusively by foster-mothers. . . . But the cuckoo cannot or will not adopt that language (chirp or twitter), or any other of the habits of its foster-parents (p. 173).

Here is a point that is almost uniformly neglected in the vast literature that has now grown up on the question of the relative force of heredity and environment in causing individual differences. Observation warrants the statement that versatile human nature utilizes those elements of its environment which "interest" it and that which interests is in some subtle way correlated with the innate predispositions of the organism. In every aspect of life different children like different things, whether it be a question of food, play, adventure or study. The result is that from every kind of environment come the same types of personality with great similarity in achievement; while from very similar environments come every variety of personality with totally different life careers.³

Two other sections have a bearing on the problem before us, namely, "Gregariousness and Slavish Instincts," (ibid., 47-57) and "Domestication of Animals" (ibid., 173-194). He thinks gregariousness in man as in Damara cattle⁴ is due to natural selection and that from it spring the general slavishness of human nature, the lack of individual independence, and the fickleness of groups and nations due to the tremendous power of suggestion by

³ For other studies of twins see Thorndike, E. L., "Measurements of Twins," *Archives of Phil. Psych. and Sci. Methods*, No. 1, N. Y., 1905; *Journal of Heredity*, December, 1909; and H. H. Newman, *Biology of Twins* (Mammals), Chicago, 1917.

⁴ In 1872, twenty years after his explorations in South Africa, Galton had published a paper on "Gregariousness in Cattle and Men." His observations on the lead bullocks and on the variable tendency of the cattle to stray from the herd contain much of the general philosophy of individual differences.

newspaper and politician. He thinks that this "hereditary taint will have to be bred out of it (our race) before our descendants can rise to the position of free members of an intelligent society." In other words, the mass of men constitute "a mob of slaves, clinging to one another through fear, and for the most part incapable of self-government, and begging to be led" (55).

Such sentiments are doubtless not pleasing to the eulogists of democracy but they present a recognizable portrait of almost any modern nation in a critical situation. But is there not here revealed one of the unsolvable dilemmas of political organization? Because of his gregariousness and his consequent suggestibility man "runs with the herd," or as the French say, "howls with the wolves;" he is made the victim of his own highest emotions and sacrifices himself for mystical, mythical or magical purposes on the altars of religion or patriotism. On the other hand, this suggestibility rendering him sensitive to the opinion of others makes him a moral creature amenable to the laws and ethical rules of his group. In other words a nation of Galton's "strong, self-reliant men" (ibid., 55) might well prove lawless to an extreme and lacking in that capacity for discipline and cohesiveness which seems essential for group defense. Capacity to think for oneself is found only in a limited few, while fearless independence and self-reliance are even rarer in a complex civilization. Timidity and a sense of dependence on his fellows are essential traits of a herd animal. In order that an intricate social order may be workable at all it is essential that the vast majority be ruled by habit and sentiment. It is true as Alexander Meikeljohn has frequently informed us that the American public is a mob and must be educated.

But it is not frequently noted that the utmost education can do is to change the sentiments to which the mob reacts. It cannot change the inherent tendency of the average man to react with the crowd.

The section on the "Domestication of Animals" (ibid., 173-194) points out that doubtless, sometime, somewhere, every sort of animal has been a savage's pet, and yet out of the vast array of species only a few are capable of domestication. Existence in a human environment even for several generations has apparently not the slightest effect on their hereditary natures. Professor Pearson has used a similar figure in his essay on "National Life from the Standpoint of Science" (London, 1901) in which he raises the question as to how and how alone can a wolf be changed to a dog and answers "by selective breeding." An advanced culture is for man much what domestication is for animals. But the North American Indian takes most unkindly to civilization while vagabondage, crime, labor unrest and most of the savage brutality of man to man are evidences of the extreme difficulty experienced by certain elements in the population in adapting themselves to the requirements of even our present crude culture.

Galton's last notable work in this field, *Natural Inheritance* (1889), added little to his previous ideas, but contained notable contributions to statistical method. He here developed his theory of regression and his law of ancestral inheritance. The theory of regression laid the basis for the coefficient of correlation as the means of measuring the intensity of inheritance, a device that Professor Karl Pearson, working under a scientific urge remarkably similar to Galton's, has developed with real genius. The fact of filial regression—or the tendency of offspring to vary less from the

racial or group type than the parents—and the law of ancestral inheritance—or a statement of the contribution of each grade of ancestors, parents, grandparents, etc., to the traits of an individual, are remarkable statistical anticipations of Weismann's theory of the continuity of the germ-plasm. In a mixed population where pure-line breeding is almost wholly wanting, each individual is the child of the race, or as Galton said, each individual "inherits partly from his parents, partly from his ancestry."

This phrase suggests continuity of inheritance, but does not suggest the segregation of the germ-plasm. But it should here be noted that Galton was extremely skeptical of the "Inheritance of Acquired Characters" (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15). His anticipation of Weismann is striking:

The ovary of the mother is as old as the mother herself; it was well developed in her own embryonic state. The ova it contained in her adult life were actually or potentially present before she was born, and they grew as she grew. The same may be said with little reservation of the male elements. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to see how acquired faculties can be inherited by the children.

Galton found the extent of the filial regression to be one-third and the law of ancestral inheritance to be that one inherits one-half of his traits equally from his immediate parents, one-fourth from his four grandparents, and so on. Pearson has calculated the degree of resemblance between parent and offspring for many traits and has modified the quantitative statement of the law of ancestral inheritance by various considerations, notably the extent of assortative mating, or the tendency of like to mate with like.⁵ It is, however, of the utmost importance to note that the quantitative statement of the law of ancestral inheritance has little

significance as a statement of the contribution of each grade of ancestors, for each person is descended through segregated and crossing germ-plasms from an infinity of ancestors; but it has value as indicating the relative degrees of *resemblance* between any generation and the various preceding ones.

In line with his earliest work was Galton's *Noteworthy Families* written in conjunction with Edgar Schuster (London, 1906). This was a study of the families of one hundred of the Fellows of the Royal Society. It is obvious that mere education, wealth or social prestige would not suffice to secure the election of very many men to such honor; much less could these environmental conditions account for the reappearance in the same families through several generations of truly distinguished men. Opportunity may develop talent but it cannot create it. In an appendix is given a list of 38 Fellows with 32 distinguished fathers. It may thus be said that Galton definitely established that ability is inherited, though in this study he threw little light on the even greater question of what proportion of talent is fully developed under existing social conditions.

This extensive reference to Galton's work may seem to many unduly long but it seems warranted by his profound importance for our knowledge of the exact nature of individual differences and the relative importance of heredity and environment in producing them. Meanwhile, largely in consequence of the stimulation due to Galton, contributions to the subject were made by anthropologists, criminologists, biometricians, eugenicists, psychologists and sociologists. Galton's researches served to set the essential problems and largely to solve some of them. These are: 1, How are the individual differences distributed? 2, What is the

⁵ See Pearson, *Grammar of Science*, London, 1901, pp. 475-481.

relative weight of heredity and environment in producing them? 3, What is the significance of these differences for political and social life?

While the works of Quetelet and Galton gave a certain clearness to our ideas of how the differences are grouped about the type or average, it remained for the criminologists, anthropologists and educational psychologists to give greater quantitative precision to this grouping, the form and extent of variations from the normal, the relative frequencies of the different values of a trait and the extraordinary complexity of the causal factors involved. To be sure, Quetelet had done

much as regards height, weight and various bodily proportions; Galton had advanced our knowledge of the variations of mental and moral qualities. Alphonse Bertillon devised a system of anthropometry for the identification of criminals, adopted in France in 1883 but subsequently generally superseded by the finger-print system developed by Galton with the aid of Sir William Herschel. Lombroso published his anthropometrical measurements of 400 criminals in 1872 and his *Criminal Man* in 1876, and thereafter the inquiries into the distribution of mental and moral traits became multitudinous.

(To be continued)

AN EARLIER CYCLE OF AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

WHEN the British colonies were settled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a new top was set spinning in the world. It was not different from the English top, especially at first, but it came to have a different speed and a slightly different direction as the centuries passed. The difference between human development in Great Britain and in the English speaking colonies of the North American hemisphere was due somewhat to a new and different environment which produced new and different social and economic conditions. But also heredity had much to do with the change. During the seventeenth century and possibly the earlier part of the eighteenth century, one hundred thousand British subjects came to the Colonies. They were, for the most part, adventurers of one sort or another—a lot that didn't believe in the conventions of the time; the social conventions, the religious conventions, the political conventions. Prob-

ably England was glad to be rid of them. They were disturbers of traffic. By 1776 that hundred thousand had increased to more than a million and a half, chiefly by breeding, and they inbred their kind—adventurers, malcontents, nonconformists, protestants against the established order. The Colonists differed from the inhabitants of Great Britain because they were selected trouble-makers and adventurers. They went out from England because they were cramped in one way or another, or adventure-hungry. Then the soil of the eastern seaboard of the continent in which the Colonists settled was not in general as rich as that of England. In the valleys only was the cultivated soil good enough to sustain a profitable agriculture. So it happened that in New England and the middle states traders predominated. Traders and professional men made the public sentiment. The towns led the country. The opinions of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were

the governing opinions. In the South leadership of public opinion rested outside of the yeomen. The Atlantic ocean sawed out a score of harbors on the North American coast and these harbors made merchants even of the southern planters. They, with their slaves, became in effect manufacturers and merchants. They were exporting cotton, rice, and cane products and bringing in more or less food and much lovely and exotic merchandise needed to maintain a luxurious plantation civilization; and so the planters became the aristocracy of the port towns. These traders north and south who were born and bred in rebellion against the commercial restrictions of the mother country were unrestrained in their revolutionary designs by a local hereditary—aristocracy—authentic and of royal blood and patronage. The nobility and gentry of the colonies, excepting officialdom, was mostly home made—the merchants, planters, lawyers of the country side raised to some not very mysterious *nth* power. So the local nobility, even when it was Tory, had small restraining influence. And often it was not Tory and at times was incendiary. Not infrequently in the quarter century before the Revolution did these local squires sit back and publicly disapprove of mob violence inspired in a rabble incited by the bitter complaints of the stable classes of society. All this was unlike England of that period. The British top was spinning perhaps as fast but in another orbit. This difference in course made separation of the two countries—England and the British Colonies—inevitable.

The Colonists, expanding since 1776, with what influx of immigration we have gained in 150 years, number over one hundred million people in the United States; a different civilization from that of the mother country, differing perhaps

not so much in kind as in degree—but certainly different. Yet our history is more like British history than like French or German or Russian history. Our political, social, and religious movements, particularly the earlier movements, have been extensions of somewhat similar movements in the mother country. Roughly speaking, we have had, in this extension of our history, in this different phase of revolutionary change, three epochs, the three cycles of Cathay, if you will, rather distinct, yet each coming out of its predecessor as a natural evolutionary consequence of environment and heredity. The three epochs are all a part of the history of those who in England and the other English speaking colonies are of the English race and blood.

Our first cycle of change may well be called the American Revolution, yet it was so insolubly a part of the British development that the war should not have been called a revolutionary war but a civil war. Lexington and Yorktown were the internecine struggles of Englishmen, of Britons, as much as Bosworth Field and Marston Moor.

Our revolutionary struggle was the beginning of a change which separated our problems from those of Great Britain. So it must be considered, this American Revolution, as a part of a new order.

Following the Revolution came another movement in our politics which made a cycle in our history. It is known as the anti-slavery movement. And following that came the third cycle, which has not been historically named—perhaps the cycle has not even been historically completed. But, by way of identification, we may call it the Populist movement. Now these three cycles, our revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, our anti-slavery movement of the nineteenth

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century, and our Populist movement which began in the latter half of the nineteenth century and has extended into the first quarter of this century, are beads strung upon a single string. That string is the philosophy of John Locke, a seventeenth century philosopher, who first in the English speaking world proclaimed the natural rights of man. Locke held that human rights existed before the foundation of society; that government is a means devised by man for the better enjoyment of man's natural rights; that the state is made by man for man and not man for the state. This philosophy uttered in the seventeenth century was social dynamite. Of course, it is a political corollary of the philosophy of Jesus, the inevitable logical sequence which follows the theoretical acceptance of the Golden Rule as a political premise. And for 1700 years the Holy Church had been upholding in theory at least the doctrine of the Golden Rule, so it had impregnated the thinking of Christendom. It is fascinating to watch a philosophical precept entering practical human life, and like a force of nature blowing institutions to bits, leading men to their death, changing maps, and diverting racial destinies. Of course the mere publication of an idea produces small immediate effect: perhaps only the crucifixion or the exile of the thinker; perhaps mere social ostracism; perhaps not even that; perhaps only a certain forehead tapping among the philosopher's most intimate enemies. It is when an idea dominates the will of some strong man and when he consecrates his life to that idea that it becomes the Archimedean lever that moves the world.

John Locke had been dead and in his grave nearly three quarters of a century before his idea began to ferment in the American colonies and produce a nation. Not until Sam Adams, "the chief in-

cendiary" of the American Revolution, began to dramatize in politics—very practical politics, often, probably, corrupt politics—the political theories of Locke, did those theories, having fallen on good ground, begin to ripen for the harvest.

It is odd when we consider American history, indeed all history, to note what humble instruments fate uses to produce great changes in life. Sam Adams, to whose agitation against the British Parliament we owe probably more than to any other one man our identity as an American nation, by our modern definitions would be called a crank. He had failed as a business man, failed as an office holder in not having collected his quota as a tax collector, and he failed even to provide properly for his family. Probably his failure in his twenties, thirties, and early forties furnished the goad for him through some devilish inferiority complex which spurred him on when he found that he could achieve results in politics. He was obsessed by a hatred of Great Britain. His father's fortune had been overturned by an act of Parliament which dissolved a land bank wherein Sam Adams's father's fortune was lodged and invested. It must not be assumed that Adams was consciously seeking revenge upon Great Britain for the destruction of the land bank. Men are rarely motivated consciously in their emotional activities. It is even as unfair to Adams to say that he was getting even with Parliament for wrecking the land bank as it is to say that the British Parliament deliberately set out to exploit and alienate the Colonies. The Parliament may seem like a cruel cat dealing with a helpless mouse in its American attitude of the eighteenth century, passing obnoxious legislation, then repealing it after it had been ignored or flaunted. But the cat and mouse figure is unjust; better

is that of the hen and the duckling. The British government could not conceive of a people like the Americans. The British were making laws for a people which they thought were home-staying Englishmen. The new race that had been bred of the British adventurers in a wilderness was too much for Parliament to comprehend.

Sam Adams entered politics thru the Boston town meeting by building up as effective and probably as unscrupulous a political machine as ever controlled a caucus, and dominated by minority insistence the course of a larger convention. But he was more than a machine politician. He also wrote and agitated for his cause. It is rare that a man has the capacity to control caucuses and wield a pen. But Adams did each well. During the fifty years before the Declaration of Independence there had been in America rising and falling tides of revolt against Great Britain—rising at every new legislative act of Parliament seeking to control the finances and commerce of the colonies and falling as the act was rescinded or abandoned. The government made mistakes; the people grumbled, sometimes even rioted. The governmental mistakes were often corrected and little by little most of the American colonies began to live in a semi-detached status from the mother country. Many of the colonies paid their own governors by taxes imposed by colonial legislature and the legislature withheld the gubernatorial salaries if the governors did not obey the representatives of the people. So it was easy to redress the wrong which England imposed. The people controlled the legislatures which gave the people the power to withhold salaries of the executive and judicial branches of their government. Many of their charters gave the people virtual control of the legislative branch of the

government, so that during those fifty anti-revolutionary years the colonies gradually were assuming an independence of the British government not unlike the independence which the English-speaking democracies of other lands have gained through gradual changes as the centuries have gone by.

But Sam Adams came ten or a dozen years before the Declaration of Independence with his Boston caucus, with his unconscious grievance against the British Parliament, with his terrible talent for controversy and agitation. Year by year he injected a bitterness into the situation which kept wounds from healing. These unhealed wounds together with the accumulated blunders of the British Parliament produced in the hearts of the colonists a Cause. Sam Adams's talent for organization led him to intrigue with other colonies and so we had the inter-colonial revolt, the organized attack upon Great Britain. And what had become for more than a century a gradual and natural loosening of bonds became, under Adams and the patriots of the Continental Congress, a revolutionary cause, a cause having, of course, an economic basis but a political statement. And it was the political statement rather than the economic basis which produced the revolution. It was not that the taxes imposed by Great Britain in the last ten years of the pre-revolutionary period were economically intolerable. These taxes were never paid. If they had been paid they were not destructive. But an idea had been planted in the hearts of a free people—"no taxation without representation"—an idea of oppression, an aspiration for sheer justice, an idea based upon the theory that man had natural rights, that the state was created for his prosperity and happiness, that interference with that prosperity and happiness on

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behalf of the state was an intolerable tyranny. That idea produced the American Revolution rather than the actual economic injustices which were symbols of the violation of the American ideals. Of course Adams had his prototypes in other colonies. South Carolina had her tea party. Women conducted it. It was revolutionary and is celebrated today in Charleston. The struggle of each of the colonies against what they came to deem British injustice and oppression is somewhat a typical struggle in each of the colonies. But Adams was one of the first inter-colonial figures in the pre-revolutionary struggle. For ten years in Boston Adams stood as the protagonist of the revolutionary cause; a man of one idea devoted so exclusively to politics that when he came into political success his neighbors refurnished him, gave him decent clothes, painted his barn, and endowed him with a fund with which to support his family. Through all his machinations against the British Parliament (and he was a practical ward boss was Sam Adams, as well as a fervid agitator and an intrepid revolutionist) he had apparently no considerable means of support. It was natural that the Tories, men who worked for an honest living, who had some property interest in the land, who believed in law and order, and very likely called it "lawr and o'duh," who had no desire for revolution, who believed in equitable compromise, regarded this unkempt, frousy, beggarly revolutionist with his tracts and his ward heelers as the incarnation of wicked, self-seeking, irresponsible anarchy. To them he was a living firebrand spreading chaos in an orderly land. He emphasized every blunder of the British Parliament, every mistake of its representatives in the colonies, and used those blunders and mistakes to inflame the people. What he really was doing was inculcating into

their hearts the dynamic doctrine of the natural rights of man—those dangerous theories of government which were predicated upon the Golden Rule and the Beatitudes. He did not know his original Biblical sources. He rarely mentioned them. But the philosophy of altruism restated in Locke's theory that the state is built for its subjects and that no subject is bound to an unjust state, when converted into a political pabulum under the heat of human blunders in an absentee government, produced the Declaration of Independence.

Of course we must not fail to give credit of the other revolutionaries of the colonies. The Carolinas had their eloquent Rutledge; Virginia had Patrick Henry, also an orator, and Washington a smouldering firebrand, and Jefferson the scholar who took from Rousseau all that Sam Adams had from Locke. Also the indefatigable Franklin in Pennsylvania did his part as an agitator. He had little philosophy from books. Locke and Rousseau came to him, translated freely into life which he read voraciously. The agitators of the revolution were like all agitators—not the solid pillars of society. Washington, alone of the lot, was a man of great wealth—most of which he married. And while Sam Adams was rabble-rousing in the sixties, Washington was earning as honest a living as any Tory and having fellowship with Lord Fairfax. The Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia came only after war had been raging nearly two years. It was clearly an afterthought of the war, as the Emancipation Proclamation was—a military necessity. It was preceded probably by outbursts of patriotic zeal like the Mecklenburg Declaration. But it was the work of the agitators nevertheless, the child of John Locke through Sam Adams, "the chief incendiary" of the revolution!

SOCIAL CASE WORK—A PROFESSION IN THE MAKING

I. M. RUBINOW

WHAT is social work? During the last twenty-five years, many definitions have been coined. It would be easy to show how unsatisfactory is each one of them. It is significant that in no other language a full and accurate equivalent to this term may be found. As a result, it is not at all unusual to find the English expression utilized in German and French. The main reason for the difficulty of framing a full and accurate definition is the very fact that the idea is still in the making, that it is being continuously expanded as a result of the differentiation of efforts made by social workers.

All efforts towards improvement of living conditions might be included under social work. But, obviously such a description is too broad. It includes so much that all distinctions between social work and medicine, or social legislation, or economic legislation, or even engineering and technical progress vanishes. A good deal of legislative activity in our fifty legislative chambers has the purpose of improving living and social conditions. But it would be futile to describe the hundreds and thousands of legislators and government employees as social workers.

It seems that only a very general description of social work is possible for the term is evidently still in the making. There are some elements which we expect to find in every field of activity described as social work; there should be an effort for improvement of living conditions of mankind, this improvement should be the primary purpose and not a by-product of the effort, and it should deal with human relationships rather than with mere tech-

nical improvement, even though technical improvement might and almost invariably does influence social relationships.

SOCIAL CASE WORK

While the definition of "social work" is very difficult, the definition of "social case work" is comparatively easy. It describes a definite method rather than a movement or an indefinite objective. It indicates that in distinction to other branches of social work, it deals with individual human beings rather than general problems.

So far, things are simple and there is comparative agreement. Things become somewhat more complicated when we inquire as to the purpose of dealing with human beings through social case work and the methods of dealing with them.

Some students have endeavored to define social case work in terms of some specific ideal objective. Thus the interesting definition of Mary Richmond, somewhat abbreviated runs as follows: "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustment between man and his social environment." That this is a worthy ideal need not be questioned. But in the development of personality, the social worker must share the field with teachers, preachers, and psychologists. Nor have we the right to assume the development of personality as a purpose in itself. Rather is it an additional means to eliminate social maladjustment.

Another well known writer describes family case work, the most important form of social case work as "an effort to protect and preserve the family as an institution." That, too, is a narrow,

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somewhat colored point of view. Social case work works with families because it finds the individual in the family, the natural social grouping. But the social value of families, their efficiency in achieving their purpose, a normal, healthy, and happy life and growth of its members, differs as between individual families. Some may be worth preserving and some are not. The social worker adjusts his decision and efforts to his individual circumstances.

LIMITS OF THE FIELD OF SOCIAL CASE WORK

The object is the human being. That is obvious. If one were to ask the layman as to the purpose of social case work, the answer would be quickly forthcoming, "You are trying to help those who need help." But it does not follow that every effort to help fellow man is social case work. Medicine is the profession of helping man to overcome physical ailments. But, it doesn't follow that every advice in reference to health constitutes the science and practice of medicine. Social case work grew out of earlier unsystematic efforts for mutual assistance. Both primitive medicine and primitive charity built up a body of empirical knowledge and experience, and were often successful. Very often they were not. In the very nature of things, they could not be, so long as sickness and poverty were considered almost a form of holiness. Social case work developed out of organized charity. Organized charity developed out of the cruder methods of public and private poor relief. None of the earlier forms are altogether extinct. Perhaps they will not be for a long time.

But it also finds itself limited at the other extreme by social group work, social legislation, political reform, and even by political and social revolution. Says one side, "You are too scientific, too theoretic-

cal. The thing is simple. When people are in need they must be helped." Says the other, "You are too sentimental. You are fussing with individuals, when the only thing to do is to change conditions through mass action." Social case work must justify itself on both sides. It may do so inductively by analysis of the results of its work. It may do so deductively by developing the theory of social case work.

The writer remembers a very significant conversation which took place very early in his career as case worker. He had come to family case work after some years of economic research, legislative reform work, literary activity, institutional and administrative work, most of it in the field of social betterment. He was confronted by a member of the Board of Directors, "Do you think after doing all these things you would be satisfied to bother about petty problems of case work, to deal with individual families and their petty problems?"

Now that was a pertinent question and he thought a good deal about it then and since. As he looked through the list of problems a case agency is dealing with, he found no small insignificant problems. He found that those were the things that constituted life, or at least the obverse side of it. They were the same problems that legislators and reformers and even revolutionists dealt with. It is true, they were problems of individuals. But are not all social problems that, in the final analysis?

THE VALUE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In the glib and often superficial discussion of social progress, of the destiny of the human race, we are often prone to forget the essential value of the unit. After all, peoples, nations, races, or even

humanity as a whole, are only abstractions. The real thing is the individual. Perhaps never was it so necessary to emphasize this elemental truth than now. For over ten years humanity has been taught a tragic contempt for individual life, as a result of more or less visionary social ideas or theories, whether they be the most reactionary thought of a divine right to domination of the world, or to the most revolutionary vision of an ideal social order.

VARIETY OF LIFE

Now the most significant fact in the life of the millions of individual human beings is their essential variety. That no two beings are quite alike is a truism which needs no demonstration. Even more striking is the infinite variety of human situations. I wonder how many realize the extent of possible varieties in family case work alone. The effort to diagnose conditions results in a list of some 50 different problems. How many different combinations of such problems are possible? May I use a rather homely illustration, which might appeal to any one who plays bridge or even poker. To the uninitiated there is little to appeal to the imagination in the 52 little card boards dealt over and over again. But how many different combinations of those 52 card boards are possible? Having a mathematical bent of mind, I actually tried to figure it out. The result is number eight with sixty-five digits following it. And after sextillions my imagination runs dry. Individual problems do occur over and over again. Similar situations arise. But every case which a case worker is called upon to handle is a new and untried situation or combination of situations. It is for this reason that case work is more than a science; it is an art. It calls not only for knowledge and under-

standing, but also constructive imagination.

METHODS OF CASE WORK

Granting these basic principles, what is the methodology of social case work? Of the entire literature on the subject, the most outstanding work remains the book by Mary Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*. Its greatest service is that it has established in the minds, not only of the professional worker but of a large part of the community, the identity between the case worker's methods and the methods of medical practice.

Both physician and social worker have the same objective—the better adjustment of the individual to his environment for the purpose of reducing the sum total of human suffering and increasing the sum total of life's enjoyment and happiness. One might say that the physician's problem is limited to physical health. But even that, is not accurate, unless we definitely include mental health with physical health. And mental health includes healthy behavior, and behavior includes the individual's relation to his social environment. In a very broad sense, all physicians are case workers in a circumscribed field. In the narrower sense, at least some physicians are professional social workers insofar as they deal with the social environment as well as the individual body. In any case, the approach to the problem presented by the individual is almost identical.

What are the processes of social case work which distinguish it on one hand from the instinctive impulse to help, and on the other hand from the application of social remedies to social problems? (1) Examination, (2) diagnosis, (3) prescribing or planning, (4) treatment or therapeutic effort, (5) prognosis, (6) prevention or prophylactic education.

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EXAMINATION

The first step is examination. It is very unfortunate that the term "investigation" has become popular; it is pitiable that even some professional case workers still call themselves investigators. That is a heritage of the earlier stages of charity organization. Often objection is raised to this as altogether unnecessary. But would you approve of a physician who prescribes without examination? How much medication still goes on over the doctor's telephone, with the patient describing his symptoms or having them described by a friend, and the doctor readily giving advice and medication. But how much more difficult is the description of the symptoms of maladjustment? How much less likely are we to obtain an unbiased, unexaggerated account? A social examination or "investigation," if you will, is objected to because it takes time and delays action. It is humiliating and painful; it may be demoralizing and harmful.

Let us admit that all these charges may be true. Is a physician's examination always painless? To take a more vivid illustration, what about a dentist's probe? How many patients prefer to neglect their illness rather than undergo a painful examination, or a still more painful probing of their mind? Yes, and a doctor's examination may even do actual harm if he is unskillful. The same is true of the social case worker. If unskillfully done, his investigation may increase the patient's suffering, it may even do actual harm; and may make the client's attitude towards his environment even more difficult than it had been before. But that is only an argument for greater skill; for better professional training, and not against the necessity of examination. For what is the alternative? It is prescribing without diagnosis. It is giving

castoria because children cry for it, whether it be good for them or not.

DIAGNOSIS

Diagnosis is not any easier in social work than it is in medicine. Often it may be a good deal more difficult. Just because it appears simple, just because the patient comes quite certain of what ails him and what has caused his maladjustment. It is a constant interplay of internal and external forces, between heredity which means the individual, and environment which largely means society, the blind forces of society designated as chance, or some ill will in that society meaning individual or group antagonisms. Were the problem involved a purely academic one, then society's responsibility could be cheerfully admitted as a source of satisfaction to the individual, and the individual responsibility as a white wash to society.

TREATMENT

When the diagnosis is made, which in most cases is a complicated one, and treatment begins, immediate financial aid is after all only a minor factor. To be of permanent value a better adjustment requires planning, and this becomes the more difficult because to be successful it must be done not only for, but with the patient; it must receive his understanding and willing coöperation. The social worker's function has not yet been fulfilled as is the doctor's, when the prescription is given. The social worker must not only be the physician, but also the druggist and the nurse.

It is obvious how much the efforts of treatment are complicated by the fact that instead of coöperation, there often may be resistance. When a physician prescribes a well-known remedy, he has a right to expect certain results. If they are not

forthcoming, he may question the accuracy of the chemist's work in compounding the medicine. The social case worker has no such assurances.

PROGNOSIS

Often the skepticism of the lay public to social case work exists not only as to method, but also as to results. It is pointed out that recurrences are only too frequent; that chronic cases abound. The advocate of large social reforms further points out and justly, that for every case even successfully treated, a new case is bound to arise; that it is a Sisyphean undertaking or like the proverbial barrel of the Danaids. And all that may be cheerfully or cheerlessly admitted. But is that very much different from the results of clinical medicine? Minor cases of economic and social maladjustment which are bound to recover themselves, escape the attention of the case worker. In declaring his patient cured, the physician does not issue any guarantee against later attacks of the same or other illness.

Of course, it is much better to prevent sickness than to cure it. This obvious, almost bromidic, observation has often been used as a great newly discovered truth. It is better to prevent accidents than to compensate for them, but how does that affect the necessity of compensating accidents which have not been prevented? With equal force it may be stated that it is much better to prevent dependency and economic and social maladjustment than to relieve it. But how does that affect the necessity for social case work as long as thousands and perhaps millions of cases of maladjustment occur?

CASE WORK AND SOCIAL PROPHYLAXIS

But there are more direct relations between case work and social prophylaxis,

as there are more direct relations between curative medicine and preventive medicine and public health. The importance of a successful cure of illness lies not in that illness alone. Every recovery is a step towards prevention. Uncured patients do not die immediately. They go on living a life of illness; a burden to themselves and to others. They offer a fruitful field for new attacks of the same or graver diseases. The successful handling of the economic problems arising out of temporary illness may prevent a complete breakdown of the entire family years later. A successful solution of a minor domestic difficulty may prevent a later desertion. Help given to a widow with numerous children may prevent a crop of juvenile delinquency, immorality, criminal tendency, and economic incompetence twenty years later. That the results are not obvious, that they can't be measured, is the misfortune rather than the fault of the case worker's profession. At that, we share it with other professions. For it is not given to the human mind to know "what might have happened if" or "if not." But it should not be difficult to reason this out.

CASE WORK AS A DEMONSTRATION

But we need not stop here. The relations between social case work and social prophylaxis is closer than that provided the case worker is able to demonstrate the social implications of his individual cases. After all, the problem of industrial accidents is an abstraction. The injured workman and his wife and children suffering want are grim realities. The problem of child labor is an abstraction. The neglected, exploited child is a grim reality. Society is moved to large legislative reforms, not so much by abstract theories as by grim facts. Crusades have not been caused by abstract

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theology, but individual visions of a living God and reward in heaven. No one but the case worker can know and feel and visualize and interpret these millions of individual grim facts. One may confess that often the social worker, narrowed by the dead routine of his day's work, may fail to do this larger social duty. Often he may himself lack the broad vision which would enable him to exercise a greater influence upon social conditions. Occasionally, the thoughtful and sensitive case worker becomes discouraged over the seeming futility of his efforts, and abandons it for a broader form of social work. He may stop working with the individual and direct his efforts at social environment. And yet, we must not close our eyes to the positive results which case workers as a group have already accomplished. It is they who are largely responsible for accident compensation, for mothers' pensions, child labor legislation, or housing reform; they, through their knowledge of grim facts, through their effort to bring these to the attention of the public conscience in a telling, emotion stirring manner.

CASE WORK, GROUP WORK, AND GOVERNMENTAL EFFORT

Thus, there is no diversity of purpose, but only a diversity of method between the case worker, the group worker, and social reformer. They all attack the same conditions in different ways. The social reformer struggles with a problem; the case worker works with the individual who suffers from the problem. One approaches the situation from the outside and the other from the inside.

But even that distinction is gradually disappearing. Through the probation officer, the policewoman, the hospital social worker of the state or municipal hospi-

tals, through the agent of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, or of the state or municipal public welfare department, through the visiting teacher and truant officer, the case worker is rapidly becoming a public servant. This evolution is not accidental, it is one of very great theoretical importance because it indicates the necessary, mutually complementary relationship between the two methods of approach to the problem of social maladjustment.

The legislative reformer need no more look down on the case worker as one who is vainly trying to sweep away the ocean waves with a broom. The case worker need not look up to the legislative worker with envy as one who has in his possession the lamp of Aladdin, the secret key to the solution of suffering, of human distress. Rather must both admit the inefficiency of their own method unless supplemented by the other.

WHOLESALE CHARACTER OF LEGISLATIVE METHOD

Legislation and group work are both wholesale methods. Like wholesale methods in industry, they have the advantage in size and cheapness, but must fail in refinement and adjustment. The American people as a whole are the best dressed people in the world, because they have developed the manufacturing of clothing as a gigantic industry. American homes may be the best furnished homes because of the furniture industry in Grand Rapids. But perhaps for that very reason, American clothing and American furniture may lack the touch of art, of individuality, of refinement. Perhaps it matters little. Mass production is advantageous even if bought at that price.

But human souls, human lives, are much more sensitive, more easily injured, less easily adjusted. The best piece of social

legislation must remain faulty until its application is individualized. The legislative method has its definite limitations. Compensation legislation provides for widows as if the needs and reactions, the problems of all widows are the same, whether she be the blond, childless vamp or the exhausted mother of a dozen. Child labor legislation, in face of its tremendous social value, may and does work injustice here and there. It is difficult to apply the same legislative yardstick to a retarded boy of sixteen and the precocious lad of ten whose admission to college was recently reported. Even compulsory school laws may prove a hardship, as every worker knows. Prohibition of house industry has driven many a cripple to despair. Prison labor legislation, no matter how justified, has created many grave problems.

In many fields of legislative action, more flexible methods are being introduced for the purpose of making possible administrative discretion to mitigate legislative rigidity. In no field of legislation is this so necessary as in that dealing with social welfare, with efforts to combat sickness, misery, inefficiency, and maladjustment. And insofar as legislation is thus made more flexible, the door is opened to application of social work methods. Within legally defined limits, case work is coming to handle human beings as they should be, as individuals, no two of whom are alike, no two of whom present the same problems, no two of whom can be treated in exactly the same way.

Thus social case work has ceased to be an exotic fad. It is becoming the scientific channel through which society at large can approach the individual to help him to readjust himself. Social case work is the practical application of the new

philosophy which puts human life and human happiness above all other values.

CONCLUSION

The essential principles, then, underlying the theory of case work are: First, the primary value and sanctity of the individual life and individual happiness as such, not as a preparation for a better life, not as a link in the abstract social progress, but for its own sake. Second, the infinite variety of human situations, which makes the very best social legislation only a rule of thumb and requires adjustment in each individual case. Third, the great complexity of human problems which requires not only a broad human sympathy, but also knowledge of social relationships, understanding of individual psychology and constructive imagination in handling human beings.

Life's sanctity, life's variety, life's complexity. These three factors enter into the profession of social case work, perhaps more than into any other profession. Appreciation of these factors indicates the demarcation between social case work and social legislation on one side, and mere almsgiving or the instinctive desire to help, on the other. The burden they place upon a professional social worker is heavy. I would not for a moment claim that all of us are able to carry it effectively. Perhaps only ideal human beings could. But, at least a few necessary elements in preparation may be mentioned. Efficient social case work requires broad knowledge of social and economic relationships and problems. It requires understanding of human nature; it requires individual life experience; it requires technical training in methods of handling human beings. And above all those things, it also requires sympathetic and constructive imagination.

THE SOUTH'S CHALLENGE TO UNIVERSITY MEN

MARION REX TRABUE

THE challenge of the South to its university-trained men and women does not differ in its essential characteristics from the challenge of each other section of the world to its educated citizens. Those of us who live in the South are not different in our native interests, our deep desires, our great problems, and our most intimate needs from those who live in the North, in the West, or in the South Sea Islands. With Shylock we dare to claim kinship with all men: "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer. . . . If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?" Whatever characteristics are unique among those of us who dwell in the South are the result of unique elements in our environment: our soil, our climate, our history, our institutions, our social conditions, and our traditions.

Although original nature is approximately the same in all parts of the world, the history and environment of each locality tends to develop and to emphasize certain groups of human characteristics in one place and somewhat different groups of traits in another. In the great desert areas of the world where there is not sufficient rainfall to make agriculture a profitable enterprise, men become nomadic, moving from one oasis to another in search of grazing plots for their cattle, on whose flesh they in turn are dependent for food. Under such conditions, when he has no permanent home or abiding place, man's interpretation of property rights and of social relationships are

different from the views held in our own land of well-distributed rainfall and abundant vegetation. Such differences as may be discovered between the American farmer and the Bedouin of the Sahara Desert—or between the Southerner and the Northerner of our own country—are due to differences in environment and in history rather than in human nature.

Our history, our traditions, and our environment have emphasized certain problems which may at present stand out more clearly and more persistently in the South than in other parts of the nation, but these problems are by no means confined to the South. Educated men and women are facing the same responsibilities in North Dakota as in North Carolina, although the points of emphasis and modes of expression may be somewhat different in the two sections. Whether in Mississippi or in Michigan, man's fundamental nature and needs are the same, even though environment and tradition may bring into prominence here one element and there another. The challenge of the South may therefore be recognized as a challenge in every other section of America, although the visible evidences and the points of attack may often vary with the geography and history of the section.

The Pulitzer Prize for the best editorial appearing in 1924 was awarded to Robert Lathan, editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, for an editorial entitled, "The Plight of the South." Writing on the day the ballots were being cast in our last presidential election, before there was any possible way of knowing the result of the balloting, this brilliant editor prepared for publication a statement which every intelligent citizen of the South

should read and contemplate. Said he: "It makes very little difference what any of us think about the outcome of yesterday's balloting. It makes a considerable difference whether or not the people of the South realize the precarious situation which this section has come to occupy politically. . . . For at the root of the South's present plight lies the fact that it has today virtually no national program and virtually no national leadership."

The challenge of the South to university men is a demand for a program and for leadership. This program and this leadership must be more than local in their outlook and in their appeal. Our vision has been too limited, too self-centered, and too sectional to sustain us and carry us to great heights of achievement. We must increase the range of our vision. We must recognize our relationships and our interdependences. We must furnish a far-reaching program and a far-sighted leadership if we would place our beloved South in the forefront of statesmanship, of industry, of agriculture, of science, of literature, of art, and of spiritual attainments.

The "Plight of the South," described by Mr. Lathan, is a direct challenge to university men and women to supply broad programs of activity and far-sighted leadership. Why *university* people? What is there in university training that gives one unusual skill or capacity to look beyond the immediate present and see the distant future? How can education change the narrow, provincial, and cock-sure demagogue into the broad-minded, sympathetic, truth-seeking statesman? In what manner may university study and thought qualify one for wide leadership? Why does the university man have any greater responsibility than the average man for the develop-

ment of a great program in Southern affairs? In other words, what may one gain from a university training that is not easily obtained otherwise?

There are doubtless many influences in university life contributing to the broadening and enrichment of the student's life, but I wish to point out one factor which to me seems more important than any other, and yet one that we have often neglected or slighted in our instruction and in our discussions of the objectives of college life. I refer to the development of the power and habit of reflective thought. The educated man is not broad and far sighted because of the number of books he conned, nor because of the lectures he attended, nor because of the subjects he studied, nor even because of his associations with the men who delivered the lectures about the subjects, but because he has developed the habit of clear and independent thinking. The real value of a college training is not measured in modern life by the number of things one can remember about the subjects he has studied, but by the degree to which he has developed skill in the use of his thought processes. The world does not usually ask what a man remembers. It asks, "What can he do? What problems can he help us to solve?"

Whatever validity there was in the old doctrine of formal discipline, which stated that certain studies "developed the mind," was due in the main to the fact that the work in these subjects sometimes contributed to the development of the habit of reflective thought. It is often interesting to listen to successful business men, lawyers, and men of affairs giving their own accounts of what made them successful. One may declare that a certain professor's course in ancient history was responsible for his success, another that association with a certain

great man was the making of him, and still another that his success began with the reading of a book on art. In most cases the materials or persons connected with one's first successful efforts in serious reflective thinking are confused with the mental activity itself, which was the really important element in the situation. One person associates the awakening of his mental life with a book, another with a personality, another with a subject or course in school, and another with an experience in life, but the important fact in practically every case is the development of independent skill in the thinking process.

The thought processes by which truth is revealed are of the same general pattern in every field of knowledge. The first step is the recognition of a problem—a consciousness that some observed phenomenon or reported observation is unclassified, unexplained, or in need of verification. One who is unwilling to question the adequacy of his observations or the soundness of his conclusions is thereby setting up a condition which makes this first step in reflective thought impossible. When one's mind is fully "made up" he can not even begin the process of creative thinking.

The second step in the thought process is largely a matter of analysis. One who is thoughtful is not satisfied with the obvious outward aspects of a situation but seeks to determine the exact character of each detail and its special effect on the total situation. This analysis and study of details frequently involves some experimentation, and it usually requires much skillful observation. The analysis of sanitary conditions in a community by officers seeking to discover the source of a typhoid epidemic, or the examination made by an expert mechanic seeking to find the defect in a recalcitrant automo-

bile will richly illustrate this step in the thought process. The person who studies his experiences critically and thoughtfully will find in them important elements which might not be noticed by the casual observer.

The third step in thinking is synthetic and creative in character. Mentally one constructs new combinations of the known elements in the situation. One forms new hypotheses or theories just to see how they would work or where they would lead. To take this step successfully one must have a strong moral character: he must be unprejudiced, imaginative, and fearless. The coward's thought processes are usually blocked at just this point. Many otherwise estimable men refuse to give consideration to any theory which might disturb their previously-accepted conclusions in party politics, denominational creeds, or racial adjustments.

The fourth step in thinking is one of testing and verification. It frequently accompanies rather than follows the analytic step or the synthetic step in the process, but it is present in all good thinking. One studies his newly formed hypothesis to see what special details it would imply in the situation. If these details are not found to exist one's belief in the hypothesis is weakened, while if the features suggested by the hypothesis are found to have actual existence and influence as suggested, one's confidence in the hypothesis is strengthened. If at a later date some thoughtful observer develops another theory which fits the actual conditions more adequately, the honest thinker will drop his own theory and accept the better one at once. The thoughtful person is constantly seeking the truth regardless of its consequences. He subscribes for the present to that theory which is in best accord with the known facts in the case. This fidelity to the

truth is much greater and finer than fidelity to any conclusion could ever be.

The foregoing outline of the various stages in reflective thought emphasizes the mental operations required of the thinker. One cannot take the first step in reflective thinking until he admits that he is not absolutely sure. Any activity which gives one exercise in good thinking should therefore tend to increase one's willingness to admit frequently that he does not know. One of the great difficulties with our present leaders in many activities here in the South is that they are unwilling to admit that they are uncertain. There are too many questions to which they will not admit that there is any possibility of finding other solutions than those they are now attempting to apply. They have "too many logic-tight compartments" in their minds. The development of the habit of reflective thought would open the way for the study of questions and problems which at present are not even thought of as being problems.

The second step in thinking, the analysis of a situation into its elements and the study of the relationships of these elements to each other and to the total condition, is a great stimulant to keen observation and experimentation. Southerners tend to be conservative, to let well enough alone, to do the task as it has always been done. Experiments and careful analyses of existing conditions are not customary in our section of the country. Training in reflective thinking should go far toward correcting this tendency to observe only the externals and these only casually. Good thought habits would stimulate experimentation and careful study of details. And anything which encourages close study of the details of Southern life will bring to light, and later perhaps to solution, many of

the deep problems which today lie hidden beneath an accumulation of shallow questions and opaque prejudices.

The third and fourth steps in thinking—the imaginative putting together in new combinations of the elements in a situation to form a tentative hypothesis, which hypothesis is immediately tested by a searching mental analysis of its probable results—supply what is perhaps the most important contribution to the development of sound programs and able leaders here in the South. The habit of imagining present resources combined in new ways and then attempting to see, again in imagination, just what results would follow, is the habit upon which the formation of great social and political programs depend. Training in thinking would be worth all it costs if there were no other outcomes than this habit of inventing and mentally testing out new organizations of our resources. One who has this forethinking habit will not waste much effort in making temporary adjustments which will prove inadequate and have to be discarded in a short time. What the South needs is fewer patches and more new clothing. Plans and specifications for the new clothing will have to be prepared by those who have skill in this phase of reflective thought.

Thus far it has been assumed that training at the universities includes this training in purposive thinking which is to help us meet the South's challenge. Except for an occasional course in logic, however, I can find no formal college courses that lay any great claim to training students to think. Scientific research, it is true, follows in its mental aspects exactly the path we have charted for discovering the truth by thinking. There is the selection of a problem, the analysis of it, the formulation of tentative theories, the imaginative mental testing of the

theories, and finally the rejection or adoption of each theory, depending on its disagreement or harmony with the facts which have been revealed by observation and experiment. Research in history and in the other social sciences follows this mental path. In fact, all search for truth passes through the stages outlined. Research, university work, is thus seen to be exactly the kind of training needed in preparation for the formulation of great programs and in the training of far-sighted leaders for the South. If for no other reason than that it would supply this type of training to some of its ablest young people, the South should be tremendously interested in the development of research work in its universities.

We can not depend on graduate work alone for this training in reflective thinking. It would take many generations to bring the South to its rightful position if we had to depend on university training only. The direct challenge now is to university-trained men and women to furnish leadership and a program, but it is also their responsibility to pass on to our college students, to our high-school pupils, and to our elementary-grade children these same habits of searching for the truth, of thinking purposively, and of suspending judgment until the facts have all been considered.

Is it not the duty of our university-trained men and women to get a broad perspective of human progress—a program covering generations or centuries rather than the next four years only—and to pass it on to those who have not secured the advantages of a comprehensive survey of time and of life? The man who stands for hours before a lifeless machine, feeding it day after day and year after year with the same kind of materials in exactly the same manner, can hardly be expected to develop noble visions of a great civili-

zation in which his children's children might serve mankind more completely and more effectively. Programs looking proudly forward through future generations of Southerners will hardly be developed by those who have never read the history of great ideals and who have never sensed the thrill that comes from discovering the ways in which the Creator accomplishes His will. Unless those who in their university work have had these broad visions will take upon themselves the task of planning great programs and leading the South in its development, we shall make but little real progress.

A lack of broad vision and sincere interest in the public welfare so often manifested in our politicians is characteristic of the private citizens, as well, in our Southern states. I attended last spring a great political convention. One of the state's officials read a well prepared address in which he gave such exact information about the conditions, needs, and resources of the state as would be necessary to determine intelligently all policies of improvement and government. Within twenty minutes after he began speaking, at least four-fifths of the original number of delegates had left the room. That night I sat in another large audience listening to another political speaker. For an hour and a half the great crowd sat almost motionless, listening to a loud-speaking orator, who presented no accurate data or recognized facts, but who depended almost entirely on an oratorical voice, emotional responses, and narrow sectional appeals. Our people seem to be listening for interesting stories rather than helpful information, and for dramatic exclamations rather than logical reasoning.

A further evidence of a lack of political leadership and interest here in the South may be found by examining the facts re-

garding our exercise of the franchise. Only six and three-tenths per cent of the qualified voters in South Carolina were sufficiently alert to their civic duties to go to the polls and vote at the last presidential election.¹ In Georgia only 11.3 per cent of the voters used their ballots, in Mississippi only 12.8 per cent, in Louisiana only 12.2 per cent, and in Alabama only 13.8 per cent. Even though a large proportion of the population in each of these states is of the black race, these low percentages of voters indicate a serious lack of interest in public affairs. In the entire nation, including our Southern states, 51.2 per cent of the voters went to the polls and registered their preferences. As long as we have a form of popular government in this country, it is the duty of those who understand its meaning to see that its citizens are well informed and that they perform their civic duty.

The South challenges its university-trained citizens to supply a broad program and far-sighted leadership in other fields than politics. Many sections of the South are rapidly becoming industrialized. Whether this industrial development shall contribute to the spiritual and material wealth of our section or rob it of such wealth as it now possesses depends in large measure on the program worked out and the leadership supplied by the educated men and women of the South. If industrial establishments are properly directed they may become a means of great enrichment, but if they exploit the human and material resources of our section they will ruin us. They must be absorbed in our Southern life and included in our program, or we shall soon find them grinding out that life and blocking every program for the improvement of Southern conditions.

¹ Facts from records compiled by the National Association of Manufacturers.

I am told that in many parts of the South the cotton mills find it necessary to send to New England to obtain trained specialists to supervise their most important manufacturing processes and departments. Why should the industries of the South find it necessary to depend on the high schools and colleges of New England for their skilled workmen? Why should not our own high schools and colleges prepare skilled workmen for our own industries? Why should our native white population, which is being drawn into these mills and industrial plants in such large numbers, be placed under the direction of men trained in other states and ignorant of our history, our traditions, and our aspirations? What kind of leadership can it be that establishes for our own pupils schools in which nothing but academic or classical studies are offered, and then brings from another section of the country the graduates of more liberally organized schools to direct and to supervise our children, who have been forced out of our schools by the narrow and abstract character of the work we provided for them?

The owner of a group of mills in North Carolina stated straightforwardly to the superintendent of schools in one of our towns that he did not want the people educated, "for," said he, "it would be impossible for me to run my mills at a profit without illiterate, uneducated employees." If this mill-owner spoke the truth, no greater curse has ever come upon the South than the present industrial development. Perhaps the kind of education usually offered by our high schools and colleges would not be the most desirable type for cotton-mill employees. But is not every child in America entitled at public expense to such an education as will fit him to perform more intelligently, and with greater satisfaction to himself and to the community, those tasks which

are certain to fall to his lot in life? Such is our theory but not always our practice in education.

Many of us have resented deeply the remarks made a few years ago by Mr. H. L. Mencken regarding the dearth of artistic and literary talent here in the South; but the painful element in the whole situation was the discovery that there was much truth in his generalization. Why have we produced few outstanding men and women in art, in literature, and in music? Several causes, both historic and economic, might readily be pointed out, but I wish to emphasize the thought that our lack of far-sighted leadership in regard to child-welfare is as important as anything else, and that it will become increasingly important in the future.

What of Child Labor? How many of us are satisfied and stimulated by the finer artistic impressions after a day of heavy manual labor? Now the adolescent period, from twelve to sixteen, is the age in which artistic taste and talent must be encouraged and stimulated if it is ever to develop outstanding artistic achievements. Any state or section that allows its children under sixteen years of age to be employed at hard labor has no right to expect them to develop a taste for great literature, for fine art, or for beautiful music. If the South wishes to produce artists, it must protect its young people from conditions which render them unresponsive to the finer spiritual enjoyments. If her children are allowed to work during the most sensitive period of their lives, the South need not be astonished when they grow to maturity with no interest and satisfaction in any but the grosser, more physical types of pleasure.

Recognition of this situation will not come in the South if the dollar sign is the chief criterion of worth. And yet

employers, captains of industry, may readily serve the spiritual and artistic life of the South, if only they embrace a broad comprehensive program under the direction of far-sighted Southern leaders. Our working people do not usually discover for themselves the true state of affairs, even where working conditions are most satisfactory. And even if our average citizen were given sufficient time and power to see the condition of affairs, he would not have the ability to develop a broad practical program of improvement. The value of culture and spiritual life must be recognized, and a great program for its development must be inaugurated and carried into execution by the men and women whose vision has been enlarged and whose skill has been developed by liberal university training.

There is in the South still another phase of life challenging university men and women to supply it with a broad program and far-sighted leaders. The popular conception of religion has been just as narrow, mechanistic, and selfish as our interpretation of civic and artistic life. Instead of recognizing in the life and teachings of Christ a divine declaration and demonstration of universal brotherhood, our ecclesiastical leaders have sometimes seen in them only a mechanical device for escaping from the fires of hell. While the Master taught that God is spirit and should be worshipped in spirit, all too often those who have attempted to lead men into a knowledge of God have thought of Him and have described Him as a great and vengeful monster to be feared. In the place of unselfish service to one's fellow men, which Christ taught by precept and by example, our preachers have too frequently insisted upon the verbal repetition of certain beliefs, formulated many years after His death by logicians who were trying to explain

Christ. Instead of encouraging men to seek the truth which, as Christ said, would free men from their narrow ideas and their limited programs, many tongues are even yet proclaiming that Christians must not "know the truth."

The religion of Jesus Christ, the Kingdom of God, "is within you." It is no formula, or credo, or performance to be repeated every Sunday, but a continuing sense of beautiful companionship and mutual endeavor. It has nothing whatever to do with the technique and the devices employed by the Creator in making this universe and the creatures in it, but it is absolutely confident that *He did create* and that *He continues to create* all the generations of those objects of which man can ever become aware. Religion is not concerned in the least with the *how* of creation, but it has no doubt whatever regarding the identity of the Creator. As St. John expressed it, "All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made."

Religion in the South is suffering mightily at the hands of some of those who proclaim its name. Thousands of intelligent young men and women who have felt the thrill of spiritual unity with the divine life of the universe, young people who have recognized in their innermost spirits that they have joined forces with infinite power and love and truth, find each year that certain church officials are opposed to extensive search of those scriptures in which God has most clearly and most directly expressed His power and His love. They are told that God must not be sought in His own creations but only in those books which were written by men who, in turn, had been inspired by God's direct communications. Primary sources, first-hand inspiration and knowledge of Him, are declared to be unreliable and unsafe; while secondary

sources, the verbal translations made by ancient men of the profound spiritual messages of the Creator, are held to be sacred and infallible.

Modern youth reads from God's own record a statement of how He proceeded in the creation of various forms of living things, and then some ecclesiastic arises in wrath to denounce him as an infidel for applying his own eyes and his own mind to a record which a Jewish scribe studied several thousand years ago and translated somewhat differently. The youth who finds himself condemned and reviled as a heretic and an agnostic because he dares to read God's records for himself is often so disgusted by the narrow-minded official representative of religion, who thus condemns him, that he accepts in self defense the diagnosis of his case. Each year thousands of brilliant students are being turned away from the church and from lives of active religious service by those short-sighted religionists who declare that one must not question the absolute accuracy of every detail in the ancient Hebrew scribe's translation. In fact, it is frequently maintained that one must not use his eyes at all—that God stopped work one evening several thousand years ago.

Here is a challenge that no educated Christian in the South can ignore. The flower of our Southern youth are rapidly being turned away from intimate communion with God and from Christian service to the world by a stupid confusion of true religion with its formal explanations and interpretations. How God acts is a question which science alone can answer. The great facts of religion are that *it is God who creates* and that *it is God who loves and satisfies the human soul*. Science and religion are separate and distinct but complementary phases of life. They can not be antagonistic, for

they are in different spheres of experience. Through religion we may know the *Who* of life, and through science we hope to learn more of the *How*. The South must have intelligent religious leaders who recognize this distinction, who see beyond the creeds and the forms of denominational groups, and who have consecrated their lives to a great permanent program of genuine religious inspiration and service. If a confusion of narrow-minded, ignorant, sectarian, formal religious doctrines continues much longer, if the South does not soon adopt a far-reaching program of religious activity, our children are going to carry in their hearts a deep scorn for that Christianity which should be the crowning glory of their lives.

Religion, art, industrial life, and politics have been suggested as fields in which the South challenges its university-trained men and women to supply high leadership and a broad, continuing program of constructive activity. There are other fields in which we are following narrow provincial leaders with no program look-

ing further into the future than the day-after-tomorrow. It would be possible to continue the discussion into these other fields, but the story is much the same in each one. Instead of seeing and planning for the maximum happiness and success of our children's children, we tend to think only of immediate personal achievements and pleasures. All too frequently our plans are devised to catch the jealous eyes of our nearest neighbors rather than the deeper and more altruistic currents in the imagination of all mankind. The appeal, the challenge is to the educated men and women of the South. The world in which we live is changing with remarkable rapidity. New and unsolved problems are constantly appearing in modern life. We must think clearly and purposively, and we must see to it that others are taught to think. The South has challenged us to supply it with programs and with leadership. Let us meet the challenge and furnish the programs and leaders that are so necessary if the South is to escape from its "present plight."

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

STANDARDIZING SOCIAL RESEARCH METHODS

M. C. ELMER

EACH generation of social scientists is aroused to concerted action by conditions and interests of that particular time¹ and each phase of research opens up new vistas, new situations, and series of interrelated phenomena which will engage the energies of new generations of scientists.

Because there is still so much unexplored territory, and so many social phenomena whose very nature is unknown, not to mention our entire lack of understanding of their part in resulting social activities, we are eager to receive any new information which may throw light upon our understanding of the social processes. We hear of an investigation being undertaken by someone in a field of inquiry concerning which we realize our lack of knowledge. When the summary and findings are announced we eagerly accept the results, especially if they fit into a structure of social philosophy we are attempting to erect. We are prone to overlook the fact that the conclusions may be based upon insufficient, inaccurate, or unscientifically analyzed data.

While it is true that the wide variety of problems which confront the sociologist involves the necessity for several different methods, nevertheless *social research methods should be so standardized that when conclu-*

sions of any social investigation are announced other scientists may carry on similar studies and compare results. As a matter of fact, most efforts of sociologists have been largely empirical, each individual floundering along independently and expectantly hoping to stumble upon something worth while. Many individuals have succeeded. Many others have failed. Because of the great body of experience resulting from the successes and failures we are now in a position to begin to standardize some of our methods and cease floundering, at least, along certain lines.

The outstanding fields of research have been discussed and summarized again and again. The different types brought forth at the Institute for Social Research held at the University of Chicago, 1923, were summarized by Dr. E. W. Burgess, as (a) Community Studies, (b) Personality Studies, (c) Studies of Groups, (d) Studies of Public Opinion.² Ellwood classifies the scientific methods of studying society³ as (a) Anthropological or Comparative Method, (b) The Historical Method, (c) The Survey Method, (d) Deduction from Biological and Psychological data, and (e) Philosophical assumption and a priori methods, stating further: "To make use of metaphysical assumption in our social study is to reverse the method of science

¹ See Albion W. Small, "Some Researches into Research," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 1 and 2.

² *Journal of Applied Sociology*, January, 1924.

³ *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924.

and will probably obscure to our minds some of the facts that should be taken into account." Chapin⁴ summarizes the methods of social research as (a) Historical Methods, (b) Field work observation, and (c) Statistical Methods of Interpretation. In short, there is a general recognition of the need for standardizing of social research methods. The general subdivision of the field are quite uniformly agreed upon. The method of procedure, judging from studies, announcements and reports one sees on every hand, are as yet generally unknown.

The scope of this paper will permit me to mention only one rather common method by which individuals secure data to bolster up an opinion, or to prepare some "astounding" revelation of social activities or social processes. The high sounding travesty of scientific research,—*the questionnaire*.

The questionnaire has certain real uses for which it is occasionally employed. There are however many uses for which it is of no value, but for which it is very frequently used. The proverbial "bailed hay wire and shingle nail" equipment for the mechanical needs of the farmer have likewise somewhat limited value, but are of a comparable importance. The questionnaire may have some value as a "straw ballot," for showing a possible tendency, but is of practically no value for a scientific study. Even with regard to "straw ballots," and obtaining interviews from individuals, Professor Giddings says, "no attempt is made to get reactions from each distinctive component group of the entire heterogeneous field of makers of opinion, and to see that each is represented in the proportion to its relative quantitative importance."⁵

We may with a reasonable degree of success find out the general tendency of attitude regarding a coming election, if the questionnaire reaches a random sample, since nearly everyone has a definite opinion on the point in question, but an elaborate questionnaire filled with questions such as "For whom did you vote during the past three presidential elections. Give specific reasons in each case," will hardly give material which can be scientifically analyzed.

In the same class are such questions as "What in your opinion is the reason boys and girls leave the farm," or "To what do you attribute the success of the Jew," "What per cent of American adults who, because of low mentality should not be permitted to vote," or, I quote from a questionnaire before me, "Did you have spinach during the past twenty-four hours," in an effort to find out if kindergartners were being properly nourished.

I have before me 17 questionnaires received during the past year. One deals with social service activities of business enterprises. It has on the whole, questions which may be answered objectively. However, there are a total of 304 questions, on the four closely printed pages, most of which would require considerable time to answer accurately, and would be of no value if not answered accurately. One questionnaire is interested in community organizations and has a total of 263 questions. Another dealing with social activities of religious organizations has a total of 347 questions. A race relations inquiry has only 92 questions but most of these are of a nature which calls for the personal opinion of the individual answering. Along with the above group of questionnaires are several shorter ones requiring subjective answers, and a number which are well prepared, short and to the point, but which deal with matter

⁴ *Scientific Monthly*, October, 1924.

⁵ Giddings, F. H., *Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 483.

which is of very incidental interest to me. This group is typical of the steady flow of questionnaires which come to all of us continually. This would cause no concern if there were not so many persons who take the results obtained seriously, and attempt to use them as a basis for scientific conclusion.

I have made a brief analysis of the last 17 questionnaires received, attempting to group the questions asked under seven general classifications. (1) Questions based entirely upon personal opinion, (2) data from official records, (3) requiring computation, (4) objective facts not assembled, and hence requiring considerable time for collection, (5) simple personal data, (6) objective facts probably known, and (7) objective facts, to answer which the aid of others must be secured (see Table I).

TABLE I.

	TOTAL QUESTION	PERSONAL OPINION	OFFICIAL RECORDS	COMPUTATIONS	OBJECTIVE FACTS NOT ASSEMBLED	SIMPLE PERSONAL FACTS	OBJECTIVE FACTS PROBABLY KNOWN	OBJECTIVE FACTS REQUIRING HELP FROM OTHERS
1	304	35	25	1	0	3	215	25
2	347	4	136	7	25	1	163	11
3	151	20			28	7	96	
4	86	19			33	17	13	4
5	29	11			4	4	2	
6	27	25				0		2
7	52	47					5	
8	39	3					30	4
9	22	1	7			5	9	
10	96	21			16	38	20	
11	105	65			19	11	10	
12	45	28					17	
13	34	23	1	1	1	3	5	
14	263	40		6	143	2	72	
15	21	3					18	
16	98	33		8		32	15	
17	29	9				12	8	
Totals..	1748	421	169	21	439	135	698	46

The above 17 questionnaires are not a selected sample, but are instead the entire list of all that have been received within the past few months in the order in which

they were received. It is readily seen that personal opinion plays a very prominent part in most cases, and that most of them require a great amount of work in securing the data necessary for answering. Several require rather extensive computations, objective facts not assembled, and aid of other persons. With the exception of two or three they are all too long to expect very reliable response. The fact that a considerable number were answered, does not justify the conclusion that a representative sample was secured.

When do you answer a questionnaire? What questionnaires have you answered during the past year? First those which involved a study of a problem on which you had very definite ideas, either favorable or unfavorable. Second, those which you answer because of a personal knowledge of the sender, and third, a few others which are short and well prepared.

The use of the questionnaire for studying social processes and attitudes is very inadequate because it is almost impossible to get a true random sample. Without a personal interview the person answering will most probably represent those who have definitely affirmative or negative views. Each person would also interpret the questionnaire and hence it is answered from a variety of viewpoints. It is at best a makeshift where absentee voting on a proposition is necessary. Where it is necessary to use the questionnaire, it should be very concise and specific. It must not be depended upon for any extensive data in our efforts to understand social phenomena. The distinctive fields of research are now generally recognized. We must now standardize the specific technique within these fields. The social surveyor has gone far toward standardizing the use of the questionnaire by ceasing to use it except under very special conditions and by learning to evaluate studies based upon such unscientific methods.

HEREDITARY GREATNESS IN CANADA

MARGARET A. THOMAS

IN THIS short study an attempt has been made to ascertain how frequently traits, whose outward expression the world calls great, have been transmitted from father to son in the Canadian population. As a secondary theme, studies of nationality and racial origin of the population of Canada have been made to see what groups or types contributed most frequently to the superior men of Canada. The investigation of these two problems raised other closely connected questions.

The problem of hereditary genius in Canada is different from the problem in older and more thickly settled countries. Canada is a larger country than the United States, but its population does not exceed nine million. This population is spread along the southern border line. The number of cities is small, and the population of the largest city is only slightly over 600,000. In this new country, with limited centers of culture, it is not amazing to find that the number of men distinguished by superior contributions to the arts and sciences is small.

Sir Francis Galton used the judges of England for his study of hereditary genius. J. McKeen Cattell obtained his list of American men of Science in a unique way. He drew up lists of the leading American scientists in each department. These lists he sent to the men who stood highest in each scientific pursuit, and asked each man to rate his fellows in order of merit. He made an average rating from the individually rated lists, and used the top men of each averaged list for his study. Obviously none of these methods was open to me. My list was obtained from the *Canadian Who's Who* 1923-24. I chose only those

who were born in Canada, and living when the 1923-24 edition was published. From the *Who's Who* I selected 431 men and women who had the longest authentic biographies, and who had distinguished themselves frequently in whatever profession he or she followed, thus excluding those notable merely from a single act. To this list I added 12 names of artists who were not included in *Who's Who* but were known throughout Canada. This gave a grand total of 443 names.

TABLE I

CATEGORY	NUMBER SENT JANUARY 14	NUMBER SENT FEBRUARY 13	TOTAL NUMBER RECEIVED	PER CENT ANSWERS IN EACH CATEGORY
Agriculturists.....	3	1	1	33.3
Archaeologists.....	3	2	1	33.3
Architects.....	6	5	3	50
Artists.....	24	13	12	50
Authors and poets.....	58	16	41	70.6
Divines.....	20	12	10	50
Engineers.....	41	16	16	39
Lawyers and judges.....	71	49	30	42.2
Medicine practitioners.....	36	18	23	63.9
Merchants, etc.....	68	0	10	14.7
Military leaders.....	28	0	9	35
Philosophers.....	3	1	3	100
Musicians.....	1	0	1	100
Philologists.....	1	0	1	100
Political and social econ- omists.....	5	1	5	100
Scientists.....	27	11	10	74
Sculptors.....	2	1	1	50
Statesmen, etc.....	44	9	15	34
Travelers.....	2	0	1	50
	443	155	205	

Table I gives the categories into which the 443 distinguished persons were placed; the number in each category; the number of original questionnaires sent out, and

the number of duplicates which had to be sent out because the first answers were not satisfactory; the total number and the per cent received from each class. Twenty-four of the answers received could not be used because they were imperfect; this left 181 answers, or 40.8 per cent, on which I have based this study. This appears a very small number from which to draw any conclusion, but it was the largest I was able to obtain using questionnaire methods, and it gives some important information.

TABLE II

PROVINCE	POPULATION BY THE 1881 CENSUS	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION	NUMBER OF DISTINGUISHED MEN BORN IN EACH PROVINCE	PER CENT PER MILLION OF DISTINGUISHED MEN BORN IN EACH PROVINCE
British Columbia.....	49,459	1.14	2	40.0
Manitoba.....	62,260	1.44	3	48.1
New Brunswick.....	321,233	7.43	22	68.8
Nova Scotia.....	440,572	10.19	36	81.7
Ontario.....	1,926,922	44.56	220	114.1
Prince Edward Island..	108,891	2.52	15	136.8
Quebec.....	1,359,027	31.42	144	83.1
North-West Territories	56,446	1.30	2	35.4
	4,324,810	100.00	414	

In the second table showing the distribution by provinces the number 414 will be used as a basis for the calculations instead of the full number 443, because 29 of the men were found to have been born outside of Canada, or could not be located from the addresses given in *Who's Who*.

The census of 1881 will be used to give the population of Canada by provinces. This census is used because it may be expected that the average age of the dis-

tinguished persons is today between forty and forty-five, and because the 1881 census is the only one which gives all the material necessary for this study. Allowing then that the majority of the distinguished persons of today were born about the year 1881, we have 95.7 distinguished persons in a million. This number is intermediate between the standards set by Sir Francis Galton—one illustrious man in a million, and 250 eminent men in a million.

The percentage of the population in each province is compared with the percentage of distinguished people born in each province of Canada. Prince Edward Island has a greater fecundity of distinguished men than the other provinces. In Prince Edward Island "the population is of mixed origin, a large proportion being immigrants from Great Britain, and the rest natives of the country, descendants of the French Acadians, Scottish, English and Irish settlers, and the Loyalists who went to the island after the American Revolution."¹ The total population of Canada by the 1881 census was 4,324,810. By the previous calculations there are 414 Canadian-born distinguished men living in Canada today, therefore the percentage of distinguished men is $\frac{414 \times 100}{4,324,810}$ or 0.00957 or 95.7 men in a million. These 414 distinguished men were born in the different provinces as shown in Table II.

The number and percentage of distinguished persons born in cities, towns, and rural communities is interesting, showing 170 or 41.06 per cent born in cities, 59 or 12.25 per cent in towns, and 185 or 44.68 per cent in rural communities. The rural population in Canada in 1891 was 3,296,141 or 68.29 per cent. The

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth edition, Edinburgh, 1882, Vol. 19, p. 740.

urban population was 1,537,098 or 31.80 per cent of the total. Therefore the urban population was to the rural as 1 is to 2.14. We have 229 urban births to 185 rural births if the total number of distinguished persons born in cities and towns are classed together. Therefore the urban births are to the rural as 1 is to 0.807. Although the rural population in 1891 was more than double the urban population it produced only 0.807 of a distinguished person to 1 produced by the urban population. Therefore, the contribution of the urban population almost tripled the contribution of the rural population.

With respect to the educational side of their environment, 294 out of the 414 superior men and women, or 71.01 per cent received a university education or the equivalent.

There is a well known theory that the Nordic stock is superior to all others. Allowing that British (English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh) is Nordic, the results obtained from the first three questions tend to substantiate this theory. There is a distinct preponderance of British stock among the distinguished persons of Canada. This preponderance no doubt is due in part to the fact that Canada is a British colony and peopled mostly by immigrants from the British islands. People of British origin make up 58.93 per cent of the population. The British stock contributed 72.37 per cent of the distinguished men of Canada. The nationality origin of 30.03 per cent of the population was French, who contributed 4.97 per cent of the distinguished persons,²

² There is some doubt in my mind as to the real significance of these figures. *Who's Who* is published in Toronto and there may be a racial bias in the choice of persons included in it. Furthermore the general culture of the French population with its religious restraints makes it difficult for them to obtain specialized training.

while 11.04 per cent is given as "rest" who contributed 22.65 per cent. If this last figure appears deceptive, it is because "rest" includes many of mixed British descent, and few pure nationality. The second subdivision under the general heading, the contribution of the different racial types to the superior stock of Canada, will now be considered. This subdivision deals with the hair and eye colour of the distinguished persons of Canada.

TABLE III
NATIONALITY ORIGINS OF POPULATION OF CANADA
BY CENSUS OF 1881

	NUMBER	PER CENT
British	English.....	881,301 20.38
	Irish.....	957,403 22.14
	Scottish.....	699,863 16.18
	Other.....	9,947 0.23
		2,548,514 58.93
French.....	1,548,514	30.03
Rest.....	477,367	11.04
		4,327,810 100.00

TABLE IV
NATIONALITY ORIGINS OF THE 181 DISTINGUISHED
MEN

	NUMBER	PER CENT
Total British.....	131	72.38
French.....	9	4.97
Rest.....	41	22.65
Total.....	181	100.00

Questions 1 and 2 were designed to find out the hair and eye colour of each distinguished person. These questions were asked in order to ascertain whether or not there was any correlation between nationality origin, racial origin as shown in individual hair and eye colour, and distinction.³

³ The hair and eye colour divisions used were taken from Hrdlicka with a few additions and changes. Hrdlicka, *The Old White Americans*. Washington, 1917, p. 599.

The figures show a decided predominance of the light-eyed types, 124 of the 181 considered falling in this category. Of the 124 with light eyes, 65 have medium brown hair; this is the largest single group. The next largest group falls outside the light-eyed section; it

TABLE V

NATIONALITY ORIGINS OF THE 181 DISTINGUISHED MEN AND WOMEN

Scottish.....	39
English.....	26
Irish.....	12
French.....	9
Canadian (4 generations).....	2
Dutch.....	2
Austrian.....	1
Nordic.....	1
Swiss.....	1
German.....	1
Welsh.....	1
Scottish English.....	21
Scottish Irish.....	12
Scottish French.....	3
Scottish Dutch.....	2
Scottish Nordic.....	1
Scottish German.....	1
English Irish.....	9
English French.....	5
English Dutch.....	1
English German.....	2
English Welsh.....	2
French Canadian.....	5
Scottish, English, Irish.....	8
Scottish, English, French.....	2
Scottish, English, Dutch.....	1
Scottish, English, Welsh.....	1
Scottish, Norman, Dane.....	1
English, Irish, French.....	2
English, Irish, Dutch.....	1
English, Irish, German.....	1
Irish, French, Welsh.....	1
Scottish, English, Irish and Welsh.....	2
Scottish, English, French, Welsh and Dutch....	1
Irish Norwegian (Icelander).....	1
Total.....	181

consists of 24 persons who have medium brown eyes and medium brown hair. The next two groups in order are 22 with

light eyes and very dark brown or black hair; and 20 with light eyes and light brown hair. Thirty out of 39 of those of Scottish descent have light eyes, 15 of these 30 have medium brown hair. Eighteen out of the 26 of English descent have light eyes; 10 of these 18 have medium brown hair. The pure brunettes are conspicuous by their absence.

It is thus obvious that blue, gray, or green eyes are much more numerous than the darker shades in this group of distinguished men. One should also note, however, that lighter shades of hair are less frequent than darker and that medium shades of brown are particularly prevalent. Moreover, that combination of blue eyes and blond hair which is the special mark of the pure Nordic strain is extremely rare. This might have been expected because of the very large Mediterranean ingredient in the population of the British Isles and the mixture there for many centuries of various anthropological types. It should be stated also that there are two reasons why no very great significance can be attached to these figures: First, the rather indefinite manner in which they were collected. Secondly, lack of any survey which would enable one to compare this distribution of complexion traits with their distribution in the general population of Canada.

We pass, then, in Table VII to the important question of the extent to which distinction recurs among members of the same families and blood relations.

The inquiry showed that 33.14 per cent of the distinguished persons had a distinguished father, mother, or a distinguished grandparent, no farther removed than a great-grandfather; and that 66.83 per cent were without any distinguished father, mother or grandparent.

It is worth noting further that the percentage with a distinguished brother,

TABLE VI

COLOR OF HAIR	
Blond.....	12
Light brown.....	23
Medium brown and brown.....	100
Very dark brown and black.....	40
Red, reddish brown and auburn.....	6
	181

COLOR OF EYES	
Blue.....	62
Gray.....	52
Green.....	10
	124 blond
Light brown.....	5
Medium brown.....	31
	36 medium
Dark brown.....	19
Black.....	2
	21 brunette
	181 181

TABLE VII
DISTINGUISHED PARENTS

Number with distinguished father.....	21
Number with distinguished mother.....	1
Number with distinguished grandfather.....	14
Number with distinguished father and mother..	4
Number with distinguished father and grand- father.....	11
Number with distinguished great-grandfather...	3
Number with distinguished father and great- grand-father.....	2
Number with distinguished grandfather and great-grandfather.....	3
	60
Neither distinguished father, mother, nor grand- parent.....	121
Total.....	181

sister, or relation is greater than the percentage with distinguished father, mother or grandparent.

DISTINGUISHED RELATIVES

Number with distinguished brothers 35;
sisters 5; brother and sister 6; uncle 12;

brother and uncle 1; cousin 9; brother and cousin 2; brother, uncle and cousin 1; sister, uncle and cousin 1; great-uncle and brother 1; great-uncle and uncle 1; great-uncle, cousin and uncle 2; great-uncle and cousin 5; nephew 1; brother, cousin and nephew 1; no distinguished brothers, sisters or relations, 98. That is, there were 45.85 per cent with distinguished brother, sister, or some distinguished relation no farther removed than a great-uncle, cousin or nephew; and 54.14 per cent without any such distinguished relative. The percentage of distinguished persons with distinguished children is small as might be expected considering that many of the distinguished persons were unmarried, had no children, or their children were too young to be judged. Of the 181 only twenty-nine, or 16.03 per cent, could be classified as having distinguished offspring. Twenty-eight had both distinguished parents or grandparents and also other relatives, while nine had also distinguished children as well.

The total number of distinguished relatives is 166. Of the 181 persons whose answers were used 84 had a distinguished relative or relatives, consequently the number of distinguished relatives for each distinguished person is $\frac{166}{84}$ or 1.97.

Each distinguished person averaged almost two distinguished relatives.

The question, what are the chances of a distinguished person having a distinguished relation, as opposed to the chances of an undistinguished person having a distinguished relation, arises. On the basis of these 181 distinguished persons, of whom 84 have one or more distinguished relations, the chances of a distinguished person having a distinguished relation are $\frac{84}{181}$ or 46.40 in a 100.

In Canada there are 962,161 persons aged 40 to 49,⁴ from whom were selected the 97 distinguished persons who have no distinguished relations; therefore the chances of an undistinguished person having a distinguished relation are $\frac{97}{962,161}$ or 0.01008 in a 100.

The discrepancy between these figures, 46.40 and 0.01008, is obvious, and involves the conclusion that a distinguished person has 4640 chances to the 1 chance of an undistinguished person, of having a distinguished relation. Therefore, it may be said that a person with distinguished relatives has 4640 more chances, than a person with distinguished relation has, of being distinguished. From this conclusion it is inferred that distinction is largely hereditary, or at least, runs in families.

⁴ *Canada Year Book*, Ottawa, 1922-23, p. 156. The persons aged 40 to 49 were selected because it was calculated that the ages of the distinguished persons are today between 40 and 50.

The third and the last group of questions were designed to ascertain the rate at which distinguished family strains were multiplying. Results indicate that the total number of children of distinguished people has fallen from 1073 to 474 in one generation. In each of 26 families of the fathers of distinguished men there were ten or more children; in each of 90 there were five to nine children; in each of 59, two to four children; and six families had one child each; making a total of 1073 children in 181 families. In 181 families of distinguished men, only two families had ten or more children each; 31 had five to nine children; 73 had two to four; 18 had one child each; while 57 families had no children; making a total of 474 children. There is thus shown a great difference between the previous generation and this one in size of family, though it must not be overlooked that families of this generation are more or less incomplete.

A SHORT COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP PROBLEMS

REGINALD STEVENS KIMBALL

WITH the introduction of straight courses in civics into junior and senior high schools, many teachers have been at a loss as to the material which they should choose from the vast amount which might be included in the course if time permitted. If the points covered are to receive adequate treatment, several days must be allowed for discussion on each topic; the time devoted to a given phase is just so much time taken away from other possible subjects. The teacher is torn between a desire to cover the whole field in fragmentary fashion and to develop a few aspects in their entirety.

The teacher-training institutions meet this same problem. If they are to prepare their students for the task of teaching citizenship either directly or indirectly they must give attention to the problems of citizenship. The curriculum of the normal school and teachers' college is already overcrowded, and there is difficulty in finding a place for any new subject, no matter how important it may be recognized to be.

In his own institution, the author has been called upon to offer a course in citizenship ranging from twenty-five to thirty lessons for students in the two-year courses, covering the bare essentials, and

a slightly longer course for students in the four-year courses who are majoring in the department. The study of the constitution itself is relegated to a separate course, as required by law, and some preliminary treatment in connection with secondary school courses is taken for granted. Wherever possible, trips to various institutions to see the working-out of the theory and to make possible a personal investigation are utilized to supplement the work of the classroom.

The course is opened with an informal, conversational consideration of the problems involved in living together—in the home, in school, in the community. The ever widening circles of one's community contacts are discussed. Out of this grows the realization of the need for some sort of rules, and the importance of government is developed. The definitions of various sorts of government, the functions of government in general, and a brief consideration of the government of the United States are found to be necessary, and the class, with some brief topics for guidance, prepares a report upon these matters.

The home community is taken as the starting-point for the next sub-division of the work. Under the head of community welfare are discussed: city planning, public improvements, public utilities, health, protection—police and fire,—and the elements of higher life—religion, recreation, and the agencies of education (schools, libraries, museums, newspapers, concerts, etc.).

From these we turn to the national problems, recognizing that we can develop the theory very briefly and leaving to the work in current events much of the study of separate examples. The economic division here includes money, banking and credit; taxation; and the industrial problems of capital, labor, and conservation.

The social problems include care for dependents, delinquents and defectives, immigration, and naturalization, with a bit of attention to racial problems.

We have found it desirable to devote a few lessons to the mechanics of our national government, following very largely the outlines of the older books in the field of civics. The origin of the party system, followed by a discussion of its advantages and disadvantages, the means of selecting officials, and the conduct of elections is too little understood. The initiative, referendum, and recall are discussed under the general heading, "Attempts at purer democracy." The divisions of government, with the theory of separation of powers, and the branches of our national and state governments are touched upon briefly. Where the city or county government seems unfamiliar to the majority of the class, we try to provide a lesson or two upon this before the course is concluded.

The last two lessons are devoted to a general summary, with the emphasis on American ideals.

At the outset of the course, the student is equipped with copies of several of the civics texts most frequently to be found in the junior high school; and daily syllabi indicating the topics to be developed, the parts of each book which touch on those topics, and certain points for further investigation and research are furnished as a guide. On the very first day, a mimeographed sheet of suggestions, as follows, helps the student to understand what is expected:

1. With the aid of the syllabus, consider all the information which you already possess about the topics in question.

2. Consult any text or reference book which gives adequate treatment of the points on which, from this preliminary survey, you may find your knowledge

insufficient. Make it a rule whenever possible to consult more than one book, with a view to gaining acquaintance with several texts, thus avoiding the narrowing influence of following one author too closely.

3. Work out in detail a brief lesson on some one of the points which particularly interests you. Suggestions are given in the syllabus, at the ends of the chapters which you consult, and in the various books on methods. While no limitations are usually placed upon the type of lesson or topic treated, you are expected in a group of lessons to cover a fairly wide variety. Plans should be submitted on the average of one a week. Be sure to have some grade or group in mind when you construct your plan.

4. It would be well for you to supplement your reading by gathering helpful illustrative material or preparing posters upon the topics as you study them.

5. Remember that observation of daily occurrences is to the civics class what the laboratory is to science. Make your trips to and from school profitable by noting your surroundings and the events which take place before your eyes.

6. Many times actual practice deviates from the theory which you find laid down in textbooks. Make it your business to know both theory and practice. Notice the points of difference and try to account for them.

Throughout the course, an attempt is made to interest the students in the magazines dealing with the current aspects of these problems, and the newer as well as the standard books are mentioned frequently, for the purpose of stimulating the students to follow up the work of the course after they have begun to teach.

The value of such a course lies far more in the after-effects than in the acquisition of specific points of subject matter at the time. An intelligent appreciation of the problems is to be desired rather than a parrot-like acceptance of the instructor's point of view. Therefore, after one topic has been developed fully to indicate the method, the other topics may be opened up but left unfinished, to be done by the student at will when the opportunity affords.

Some training in parliamentary procedure is afforded through the organization of the class from time to time as a legislative or argumentative body.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

What has America contributed to the general stock of human achievement? Literature, scholarship, and pure science of a high, if somewhat below the highest grade. A unique perpendicular architecture based on iron and steel. Invention and business organization on an unparalleled scale. The Panama Canal, a composite triumph of engineering, commerce, and sanitation. Medicine, surgery, and dentistry of the best quality. Moral restraint and cleanliness. A tremendous practical application of good-will in international charity and efforts for world peace. Finally, the synthesis in political science of a strong federal government and

the principle of democracy. These things Wilbur Cortez Abbott offers as the answer of modern America to the question, "What is Civilization?" in the *October Forum*. A foundation of sound government, material prosperity, and morality, coupled with that spirit of social freedom engendered by a new continent, may yet create intellectual, emotional, and spiritual interests worthy to set beside those of any other people or time.

And the surest way to create them is to revolutionize our whole scheme of higher education. We have been working so hard to pile up material wealth that we

neglect to provide men who can control it. We are trying to get along without an aristocracy—which in a democratic nation means an aristocracy of brains. If four or five of our great universities, suggests Frank Bohn in the following articles, should cut down their sprawling numbers to a thousand picked students, a third of junior and senior grade and the rest graduates, should limit their professional schools to law, medicine, education, and the arts, and should select a faculty of two to three hundred real scholars and pay full professors from \$30,000 to \$50,000 a year, a genuine American leadership of the highest type would soon appear. The endowment of mind with salaries of this magnitude would be an amazingly cheap form of national insurance against shallowness and materialism.

Malthus made a bad guess, but the statisticians tell us we shall either starve eventually or else trample one another under foot for lack of standing room. The era of starvation has been postponed by cultivation of the prairie grasslands in every continent and by development of farm machinery and transportation. Even though population doubles in the next century moderate eating, the elimination of waste, the use of neglected lands, irrigation, vegetarianism, the grazing of reindeer and musk-ox in the Arctic, and extensive farming of ocean plants and animals will put off the evil day for two centuries or so. If we learn how to make food directly from the air the problem will be solved for every. But physical overcrowding becomes then the great menace; and apart from pestilence and war, universal birth control is its only solution. This is the thesis of "When the World Will Starve" by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the *October World's Work*.

Glenn Frank writes his last editorial words in the *Century* for September, concluding his eloquent "Outlook for Western Civilization" with a search for the engineers of the coming renaissance. We need, he says, a new group of Encyclopedists to extract and reduce to popular form those findings of the modern sciences that are the raw materials of social vitality. The end of research is application and a series of tentative dogmatisms to live by until we find better. And we need as well a great spiritual leader to supplement the best group leadership, a ringmaster of specialists to fire the imagination of the western world, a combination perhaps of Francis Bacon and Billy Sunday. This leader of the future will harness science—which is merely power without morality—for the enrichment of civilization, a genuinely religious labor that comprehends the whole of human life.

An heroic age is over! The deaths of Roosevelt, La Follette, and Bryan close an American epoch, the period of the frontier, which has already passed into myth. Out of the west have come immense political and social energies. Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln were its earliest protagonists; these later men outlived the large and adventurous era they were the last to typify. The myth of the frontier is made up of three great pioneer strains: the epos of the folk migrations, the epos of the gold seekers, the epos of the cattle grazers. Even now a national tradition, it is enshrined in song and story, in books that sell by the million, and in the motion pictures. Still below the culture line, it will some day find a place in genuine literature, and we shall then know the real meaning of the frontier for American history. So Thomas H. Dickinson, with gusto, in the

leading article of the September-October *American Review*.

Our great crusade for democracy has ended in disappointment and suspicion. The goal remains, but now that war and political action have failed we must look to education to approach it. The American people are wont to combine a large faith in the value of schooling with distrust of scholarship. We have only the vaguest idea of what a liberal education should consist in. The world will be redeemed not merely by increasing the amount of education, but rather by linking it up with sound social theory and making it provide for the creation of new standards to meet new conditions. "The Need of a New Program in Education," declares Boyd H. Bode in the following paper, is the need of a democratic philosophy that will guide the youth of the world toward a humane social ideal and the consequent complete mastery of their environment.

The automobile is a sort of Connecticut Yankee thrown abruptly into a society that has not yet got out of its medieval ways of thinking. We may take it for a symbol of the new age in which great impersonal forces, accessible to all of us, are remaking the tight little animistic universe in which life began. We can no longer choose between "goods" and "bads" done up in classified parcels; rather must we create our own new values out of the raw materials lying ready to hand. Power beyond the wildest dreams is ours, and the much bemoaned younger generation cannot be kept from experimenting with it and gradually building up a pragmatic world of realities that stand the test of use. Such is the tenor of Joseph K. Hart's whimsical lay sermon in the *Survey* for August 1, entitled "The Automobile in the Middle Ages."

Since the close of the war we have spent in this country some seven or eight billion dollars for education. Are we any better off for it? Not so very long ago education meant a narrow curriculum of traditional studies; today it means teaching to youth everything, practical or idealistic, that man has learned to do for his own good. This is "Why Schooling Costs So Much," according to Frederick Burke in the September 1 issue. We hope to earn a livelihood, keep out of jail, end war and group antagonisms, give labor and capital all they ask, prevent disease and untimely death, and in general establish the long-overdue millenium in the hearts of men—all through education. On it is being unloaded the whole business of democratic civilization; and if we think the price is too high we have only to imagine what would happen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were the resources of our schools cut off for a single generation.

The redoubtable Clarence Darrow, balked of his prey in the Tennessee mountains, turns a battery of sarcasm and common sense on the eugenists and their pious fable of "The Edwardses and the Jukeses." Have we after all, he suggests in the *American Mercury* for October, been honoring the terrible Jonathan and maligning the jovial Max without due reason? The character of the gloomy theologian and his divorced grandmother aside, the Edwards line has comprised some 40,000 individuals, and most of its women, marrying into other families, have brought in new blood which is taken into account for good only. To pick out a few well-known names from this highly mixed army as proof of anything is absurd, for the ramifications of no line can be traced forwards and backwards for six or eight generations. So with the Jukeses: their undesirable members are a very small

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fraction of the whole, and feeble-mindedness, the only inheritable trait, is difficult to determine a century after a person's death. A wretched environment was probably the chief cause of the family's social lapse, since those individuals who went elsewhere have been lost in respectability.

L. L. Bernard showed recently in these pages how the idea of progress had passed through the theological and metaphysical stages into the scientific. The formulation of social laws, he continues in the July *American Journal of Sociology*, must follow the same course as physical laws have done, from vague description to exact quantitative generalization. Though we may be certain there is such a thing as progress, we cannot as yet, having no fixed standard of value, state general laws in any of the biological or social sciences. The breaking down of barriers between fields of knowledge is gradually enabling us to see our world more and more as a whole; and though the goal and criteria of social progress may never be determined for once and all, sociology gives the best promise of harmonizing the conflicts and waste that science has revealed, and so making possible a limited and partial advance. "Scientific Method and Social Progress" is the title of this thoughtful article.

What do we mean when we speak, often carelessly, of "social forces?" Floyd N. House attempts an answer in the first article of the same magazine for September by tracing the idea through the works of American sociologists. To reformers and welfare workers social forces are likely to be persons, groups, and institutions; to historians they are broad movements or currents of change flowing through the past. The scientist, however, conceives them as the universal tendencies,

desires, and interests that motivate human behavior. Spencer and Ward were the first to use the phrase in this sense. The latter's acute classification of social forces has been adopted, with minor variations and changes, by such later writers as Giddings, Small, Ross, Ellwood, and Bushee. The discussion is to be continued in a later issue.

In the following article J. O. Hertzler enumerates the possible "Sociological Uses of History." The newer history, which grasps at every sort of human data from the past, enables us to interpret the present, substantiates social evolution, proves the necessity of change, indicates causes and effects in social phenomena, and shows that progress comes through purposeful activity. It also guides us in determining the antecedents and consequences of social revolutions, in studying the rise and decadence of institutions, in watching ideas grow and move the world and fall into neglect. And by probing into the mechanism of how ideals are realized and their part in modifying human life it furnishes a basis for intelligent reform. History of this type will play an increasing part in the future development of sociology.

On what factors does "Efficiency in Socialization" depend? As the layman would put it, how get people to work well together? John C. Almack reports in the same issue his study of other investigations concerning the mental characteristics of successful groups and certain tests of his own which cover choice of associates, selection of leaders, and controlling motives. He concludes that efficiency is the result of coöperation among the group, the presence of traits which reinforce and supplement one another, dynamic leadership voluntarily chosen, and identity of ideals and purposes.

Our American universities have developed from something like the English colleges into sprawling institutions that attempt to cover the whole field of trade, profession, handicraft, and abstract knowledge. Yet they are narrow in social and intellectual outlook, and put too much faith in the efficacy of the machinery necessary to control their half-educated hordes. Research has now been recognized for half a century, but graduate schools overlap the work of the colleges to which they are attached in the type of students they teach, in the duties of professors, and in attempting responsibility for the welfare of students. Johns Hopkins, as Abraham Flexner points out in the October *Atlantic*, is now abandoning the first two undergraduate years; and should the graduate school be entirely severed from the college both of them could better perform their proper functions. "A Modern University," leaving professional and social activities behind, should hold to the severer task of advanced teaching and research in the fundamentals of culture.

"Democracy as a Social Ideal" is organization based on a balanced regard for the interests of all who participate rather than on sole regard for the interests of the organizers. So Edward C. Hayes defines it in the May-June *Journal of Applied Sociology*. The first step in developing its technique is to provide for free expression of the majority will, which has been secured by the universal secret ballot. The second is to provide for the free formation of public opinion. This, he continues in the September-October number, is a problem in the social control of the press, the greatest of all powers in modern life. By constitutional amendments in each state every daily paper of wide circulation should be made to pay for its franchise in space, putting certain

columns in each issue at the disposal of the four most popular parties to enable them to plead their causes before the bar of the public.

The literacy of foreign born white criminals, of Negro men criminals, and the religion of Negro men criminals are analysed statistically by Carl Murchison in three articles from the September *Pedagogical Seminary*. In regard to the first group, he finds that low literacy cannot be considered a cause of their criminality, that criminals from northern and western Europe stand higher in the scale than those from southern and eastern Europe, and that crimes of fraud, force, and thievery are in that order committed by men of higher literacy. Negro criminals are inferior in literacy to samples taken from army draft reports, those imprisoned in their home states are superior to those imprisoned elsewhere, and literacy seems with them not to be a cause of the repetition of crime. Among Negroes Catholics are more intelligent and literate than those of other faiths, Baptists and Methodists supply nearly all convictions after the first, and those whose religion is different from their parents' are inferior to those whose religion is the same.

To the same issue J. Crosby Chapman and D. M. Wiggins contribute a study relating the size of families to their socioeconomic status and to intelligence of offspring. They conclude, from figures taken from 650 cases, that the more prolific families have children of lower intelligence, the highest average I.Q.'s being found in families of two children; and that larger families are of inferior social and economic status. Foreign families of superior intelligence have much greater difficulty in raising the level of their status than those of native birth.

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An important experiment in adult education and in the technique of presenting the social sciences and humanities to people outside the colleges is that of the American Library Association in its new series of little books on "Reading With A Purpose." This experiment will be watched with much interest by the social scientists. The list of volumes includes: Biology, by Vernon Kellogg; English Literature, by W. N. C. Carlton; Ten Pivotal Figures of History, by Ambrose W. Vernon; Some Great American Books, by Dallas Lore Sharp; Sociology and Social Problems, by Howard W. Odum.

At the recent meeting of the Social Science Research Council, among other important business, the new committee on problems and policy was elected, as recommended by the preliminary committee in its report made at the Dartmouth meeting in August. The present committee consists of Hall of Wisconsin, Wissler of Yale, Woodworth of Columbia, Harri-

son of the Russell Sage Foundation, Gay of Harvard, Moulton of the Institute of Economic Research. The original committee was composed of Hall, Wissler, Harrison, Gay, Ogburn, Thorndike, Odum, Coss.

The report of this committee as adopted also made important recommendations concerning problems and projects of research policies of the Council.

The last two issues of *SOCIAL FORCES*, due to failure to check over the page proof sheets of the Directory of Professional Training Schools for Social Work, omitted the Missouri School, although Professor Morgan had given very careful and detailed instructions. The present issue will carry the correct statement.

Another interesting research problem is that being undertaken by Brown University in the studies of ethnic factors in community life under the auspices of the Department of Social Science.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAROLE IN THE UNITED STATES

HELEN LELAND WITMER

THE United States, in most lines a leader in penal reform, was slow to take up the idea of parole. This was doubtless due to the fact that there was not the same pressing necessity for it here as in the old country. Tickets-of-leave had originated in a very new country where there was a great demand for labor of every sort. England had taken it up when she was faced with the thousands of convicts for whom there were no prisons. The United States did not try it until a group of strong believers in the reformability of the youthful convict had the opportunity of putting their ideas into practice in that experiment, new itself, the reformatory.

In spite of the atrocious conditions that still exist and would seem to point to the contrary, the United States has always been foremost in its interest in penal reform, if not in criminological theory. Among the earliest reformers was William Penn, who had himself been a prisoner for a time in England.

His contribution lay in cutting down the number of capital crimes to one, wilful murder, a reform that was much more startling in that day than we can realize now. His Quaker followers continued to be interested in penal reform, and their efforts resulted in two distinctive contributions—the voluntary association for the relief of prisoners, somewhat like the English associations for the same purpose,

and the Pennsylvania system of prison discipline. Although misguided, the Pennsylvania system was a genuine attempt at the reformation of the criminal, the means used being separate confinement. A few years later, in 1797, another system was devised in New York which came to be known as the Auburn system and whose fundamental principle was reformation through congregated work in silence in the daytime and separation at night. Between the two systems a fierce rivalry sprang up and extended even to Europe.

As a means of reforming the criminal both systems were marked failures. The Pennsylvania system, when carried out as it was planned, resulted, at worst, in insanity, and, at best, in habits that ill adapted the prisoner for life in society. The Auburn system fell a prey to the contract laborer or, when that evil was avoided, failed to provide work and education that were really reformatory. But both systems survived for a long time in many parts of the country and are far from being extinct today.

It was not until 1879 that any real advance was made in the United States. A group of men, E. C. Wines, Z. R. Brockway, Gaylord Hubbell, and others were interested in the progress that was being made in Ireland under the mark system, an importation, as we have said above, from Australia. In 1867 Wines and Dwight made a report to the legislature

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of New York on the *Prisons and Reformatories of the United States and Canada* in which they said:

We have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that what is known and what has become famous as the Irish system of convict prisons is, upon the whole, the best model of which we have any knowledge; and it has stood the test of experience in yielding the most abundant as well as the best fruits. We believe that in its broad general principles—not certainly in all its details—it may be applied, with entire effect, in our own state and country.

As a result of this a bill authorizing the erection of the Elmira reformatory was passed in 1869.

While embodying little that was wholly new, the Elmira reformatory summed up in itself the best that was known of penal practice. From Australia, via England, came the use of marks, grades, and tickets-of-leave; from Pennsylvania, the practice of separate confinement for the first stage, and, from Auburn, the use of congregate work for the intermediate state; from Ireland came the idea of testing the convict's fitness for parole by the granting of near freedom. And, added to these, was the one thing that approached originality—the indeterminate sentence.

THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE

The originator of the indeterminate sentence in the United States was Z. R. Brockway, who was the superintendent of the Detroit House of Correction in 1869. He conceived the idea after observing the effects of short sentences on the type of person confined in that institution.¹ Although the idea was original with him, it had been suggested much earlier, unknown to Brockway, by Arch-

bishop Whately of Dublin. He said in 1832:

It seems to me perfectly reasonable that those whose misconduct compels us to send to a house of correction should not again be let loose on society until they shall have made some indication of amended character. Instead of being sentenced, therefore, to confinement for a certain fixed period, they should be sentenced to earn, at a certain specific employment, such a sum of money as may be judged sufficient to preserve them, on their release, from the pressure of immediate distress; and orderly, decent, and submissive behavior should during the time of their being thus employed be enforced, under the penalty (besides others found necessary) of a prolongation of their confinement.²

Maconochie suggested it also in the pamphlets that tell of his work on Norfolk Island, and Matthew Davenport Hill, recorder of Birmingham Jail under Maconochie, repeatedly asked for it in his charges to the juries from 1850 to 1878.³

In spite of these earlier pleas for the indeterminate sentence, the chief credit for the development of the idea must go to Brockway and to the United States, for it was there and by him that the principle was first put into law. In 1869 Brockway

² Whately, Archbishop, *Thoughts on secondary punishment*, London, 1832, page 36.

³ Unknown also to Brockway, the idea of indeterminate sentence had been suggested earlier in the United States. As early as 1847 S. J. May, writing for the Prison Association, said,

"You ask me for how long a time he should be sentenced to such confinement? Obviously, it seems to me until the evil disposition is removed from his heart; until his disqualification to go at large no longer exists; that is, until he is a reformed man. How long this may be, no human sagacity can predetermine. I have therefore for many years been of the opinion that no discretion should be conferred on our judges in regard to the length of a convict's confinement; that no term of time should be affixed to any sentence in court. The offender should be judged to undergo the duress and the discipline of the prison-house until that end for which alone he should have been put there is accomplished; that is, until reformation has evidently been affected," *Report of the Prison Association*, 1847-1848, page 45.

¹ Brockway, Z. R., *Fifty years of prison service*, Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1912; page 134.

drafted the famous "three-years law," which passed the Michigan legislature the same year. The act conferred discretionary powers upon the police magistrates and justices of the peace throughout the state to send offending girls of fifteen or under to the House of Correction until they reached the age of twenty-one. This order was mandatory on the courts of record and on the justice courts of Wayne County, the site of the House of Correction. The law got its name from that part of it that made it mandatory on all courts to sentence prostitutes of fifteen years or more to an institution for three years. These women might be released on parole by the managers of the House of Correction.

After a successful career of two or three years, the law was practically nullified by a decision of the court that confined its action to Wayne County and by the withdrawal of Brockway from the House of Correction. An attempt was made in 1870 to apply the same principle to all offenders sentenced to the Detroit House of Correction. The proposed law read:

All courts of record having criminal jurisdiction in the state of Michigan and all police justices and justices of the peace in the said state, who, under the provisions of the law, may sentence offenders to confinement in the House of Correction shall sentence them to the custody of the Board of Guardians aforesaid, but shall not fix, state, or determine any definite period of time for the continuance of such custody.

Provision was made for the paroling of these prisoners by the Board of Guardians, and a very modern system of case histories was required. The act failed to pass the legislature, and no other act embodying, as this one did, a truly indeterminate sentence, has ever become law in any state. Nevertheless, this three-years law and this proposed act had a great influence on penal legislation and form the basis for

all the so-called indeterminate sentence laws of the country. Brockway's feeling on the matter was well expressed in a paper read before the National Prison Association in 1870. He said:

Criminals committed to prison naturally entertain much antagonism toward the laws and their custodians; and this feeling forms the first and very real obstacle to their reformation.

The remedy cannot be had, the public sentiment toward the law cannot be changed so long as a determinate sentence is imposed at the time of trial. The sentence of imprisonment must, of necessity, affect the mind of the prisoner as too short and trivial, too long and tyrannical or just adequate to the offense. If the sentence is too light prisoners are stimulated to deserve a heavier one, that they may be esteemed more daring. If the sentence is too long, they often feel complimented by the importance thus conferred on them as great criminals, until imprisonment is once entered upon, when they become vindictive toward all in any way connected with their arrest, trial, and custody, and finally fall into apathy and discouragement. If perchance the prisoner's views should be precisely met, and his inward sense approve the penalty, this pernicious effect is produced: he lives with the mistaken idea that he is paying the penalty—expiating his offense; like the others he counts the days as they go; and, when released, he re-enters society, as he conceives, exactly as he left it, having, in his own estimation, paid up and put himself right with the community.

Another active cause of crime is the release annually of hundreds of prisoners in every state, who are unreformed by their imprisonment, which must always be the case under the present system of sentence. No man, be he judge, lawyer, or layman, can determine beforehand the date when imprisonment shall work a reformation in any case, and it is an outrage upon society to return to the privileges of citizenship those who have proved themselves dangerous and bad by the commission of crime, until a cure is wrought and reformation reached. Such minimum of restraint must be retained as will protect the people from their pernicious influence; and this will be likely to prove more powerfully deterrent upon the criminals and the criminal class than would all the severities of the inquisition. Therefore, as for the reasons suggested, sentences should not be determinate, but indeterminate. By this is meant that all persons in a state, who are convicted of crimes or offenses by a competent court, shall be deemed wards of the state and shall be committed

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to the custody of the board of guardians until, in their judgment, they may be returned to society with ordinary safety and in accord with their own best welfare.⁴

It was not until 1877 that an indeterminate sentence law was passed, this time in New York state in connection with Elmira Reformatory, and this one remained an almost isolated example for nearly fifteen years. Although bearing the name of indeterminate sentence, neither this nor any other that has been passed in this country is truly indeterminate. Indefinite would be the better term, as many writers have suggested.

The laws are complicated also by the fact that most states have laid down in their statutes a maximum-minimum penalty for each type of crime, and the indeterminate sentence laws have had to be so arranged as not to overrule these. This has been done in several ways. The New York law, for instance, retained the maximum stated in the law but allowed the reformatory to decide on the minimum. This retention of the maximum is characteristic of all the laws, for, so long as the older laws remain in force it would be illegal to keep a person longer than the maximum. The treatment of the minimum varies. Sometimes no minimum is set, leaving the decision up to the institution; sometimes there is the provision that it must be a certain part of the maximum; sometimes the judge decides what the minimum shall be, a practice that has led in some places to a virtual overthrowing of the whole system; and there are some states in which the jury fixes the penalty.

The progress of the law in New York is interesting in that it shows how the indeterminate sentence idea has been extended. The first law, as we have said,

was enacted in 1877 and applied only to the Elmira reformatory. In 1892 the penal code of 1881 was reorganized, and the maximum-minimum type of sentence was established for a group of felonies. The courts seemed loath to use the new punishment in spite of the vigorous efforts of the Prison Association of the state made in its behalf. In 1901 the agitation that had been centered on extending this law to the state prisons culminated in a law to that effect, but again the courts blocked the use of it. In 1907 an indeterminate sentence law for all first offenders accused of felonies was passed, and it and the amendments to it have proved quite a success, though it is the court that determines what the maximum and minimum shall be.

Among other states that adopted indeterminate sentence laws at much the same time as New York are—Massachusetts, 1884; California, 1893; Illinois, 1893; Indiana, 1897, and Colorado, 1899. By 1921 thirty-five states had the law to some extent, though many had serious restrictions on it.

DEVELOPMENT OF PAROLE LAWS

Parole in this country has always been an integral part of the indeterminate sentence system, although there have been some parole laws without the indeterminate sentence feature. The linking of the two, however, is one of the characteristics which distinguishes the American from the English form of parole. The first use of the word parole to denote such a release under supervision is credited to Dr. S. G. Howe of Boston, who wrote to the executive committee of the New York Prison Association on December 21, 1846,

I believe that there are many who might be so trained as to be left upon their parole during the

⁴ Brockway, Z. R., *Fifty years of prison service*, Appendix I, page 400.

last period of their imprisonment with safety and with great advantage to themselves.⁵

Parole of juveniles was practiced in the New York House of Refuge for years, although it went under the term indenture there, and contained the foreign elements that that term implies. The indeterminate sentence was also a part of this early parole system, for the children were sentenced there until majority or until indentured and were subject to return at any time. There was a committee of the managing society that met weekly to pass on indenturing and that corresponded closely to the boards of parole at present. This committee took responsibility for the act of indenturing and laid down conditions under which the children were to live. Still this system seems to have been so firmly associated with juveniles that no thought was given to extending it to adults. In fairness, too, it must be noticed that the situations were not quite identical: indenturing was a means of providing for the training of children; while parole among adults means a conditional return to normal life.

Two other institutions existed in the United States that may have prepared the way for the acceptance of the parole idea. These were the use of pardons and of commutation of sentences, both lacking in the essentials of parole but both adjusting the public mind to the idea of release before the expiration of the sentence. Pardons were originally granted to correct an error in conviction or to lessen a penalty that appeared to be too severe. In New York, however, as early as 1809, the pardoning power was used to relieve the congestion in the jails, and pardoning became an accepted part of the penal regime. By the fifties the bad results of this were discussed openly, and Professor

Lieber, in a paper read before the Prison Association in 1850, recommended what is one of the essential features of the parole system. He suggested the appointment of a pardon board which should be called together semiannually, investigate the cases applying for pardon, and inform the community in which the crime was committed of the intended action. The governor was to pardon only those thus recommended.⁶

Commutation is connected with parole only in so far as it admits of the principle that the sentence may be shortened on account of good behavior. New York was the first state to adopt a commutation law, it being included in the act of 1817 that set forth the details of the piece-price system.

With these three examples before them, it is not strange that the principle of conditional liberation was eagerly taken up by the group of penal reform enthusiasts in the sixties. This was the time, it will be remembered, of great discussion as to the relative merits of the English and Irish systems, and there was apparently a very close connection between the penal reformers in this country and abroad. Gaylord Hubbell, the warden of Sing Sing, made a thorough study of the English and Irish prisons in 1865 and recommended the adoption of the Irish system *in toto*.⁷ Dr. Wines was greatly influenced by the Hill brothers, ardent advocates of conditional liberation and indeterminate sentences. They themselves were in close contact with Macnochie as well as with Sir Walter Crofton. The New York Prison Association in 1867 received communications from Crofton and De Marsangy urging that they should not neglect the question of supervision

⁵ Ibid., page 406.

⁷ Wines, Frederick H., *Punishment and reformation*, Crowell Co., 1919, page 206.

⁶ Klein, Philip, *Prison methods in New York State*.

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during the parole period. So, when the question of a reformatory at Elmira came up, it is only natural that this group of men, ardent proponents of the Irish system, should have insisted that it embody the best in that system; and that meant marks, grades, and parole.

The use of the term reformatory is significant. The first draft of the law called only for a new state prison, but the New York Prison Association urged that the word, reformatory, be substituted, as expressing more clearly the new principles on which they hoped to see it governed. The commission that was appointed to select a site and to consider its policy reported in 1869:

We propose to make the sentences substantially reformation sentences. It has been a favorite theory of that distinguished criminal judge and philanthropist, Mr. Recorder Hill, that criminals should be sentenced until they are reformed, which may, of course, turn out to be for life. While we do not propose to recommend this rule in full, we think that it may safely be tried in modified form. We propose that, when the sentence of a criminal is regularly less than five years, the sentence to the reformatory shall be until reformation, not exceeding five years.⁸

This idea of reformation had been common to juvenile institutions before this, but the application of it to adults was new. Even the proponents did not believe that the hardened criminals could be reformed, so two important limitations were made to admissions: the felon (misdemeanants were not sent there) had to be a first offender, and his age had to be between sixteen and thirty. For this type of criminals reformation was believed possible, and a technique of treatment was developed that had that as its aim. Parole was considered as a kind of graduation, a sign of having completed a course of education, a test period to show

how well that education was absorbed. It was granted through a board of the reformatory officials after the prisoner had passed through the stated grades and had received a certain number of marks, based on conduct, progress in school, and industry at work. Brockway describes the parole system that was used during his regime (he became superintendent in 1876 at the opening of the institution and remained there until 1900) in a way that shows the best theory of the time. He says:

The minimum parole period was fixed at six months, for the reason that a longer period would be discouraging to the average paroled man, and a shorter term insufficiently steadying.

The preferable place to which the prisoner should be paroled is the place from which he was committed, or the place of his usual habitation. Recuperation from a smirched reputation and recovery of public confidence are easiest in the community where the misconduct occurred. Paroled prisoners should not deny nor fraudulently conceal the fact of their history when they are confronted with it; and, emphatically let it be said, they should not exploit their reformation nor adopt the role of reformer.

Almost without exception—and this should always be the case—the prisoners were provided with prearranged employment to which without delay they were required to proceed. And the employment would naturally be that for which during their imprisonment they had been trained and prepared. The employer and the parole supervisor were always made fully acquainted with the facts; this for the sake of honesty, safety, and for the salutary mutuality of the confidential relation it involves. Monthly reports certified by the employer and the supervisor were required. The most satisfactory for supervision of paroled men is the chief of police; not the average policeman in the great cities, nor indeed a religious or philanthropical organization or private individual. Certified pecuniary prosperity, the result of legitimate industry and economy, was the prized favorable indication of rectitude.

During the parole period the reformatory was available for asylum whenever urgent need occasioned, and was sometimes used. It was expected and desired that in due time the reformed prisoners dwelling in a community would themselves retain only a dimmed consciousness of the blemish of the erstwhile offense; and that the changes, the absorb-

⁸ *Ibid.*, page 204.

ing occupations, of our American communities would effectually obscure it.⁹

Parole theory has shifted since that time, and some of his statements would be questioned today; but part of this contains suggestions that need to be carried out now. These changes will be discussed in a later article. Just now we are concerned with the development of the laws.

Since the time of this first experiment with parole, four important changes have been made in the laws which have been adopted by other states, as well as by New York. The authority to grant paroles has shifted, in most instances, from the institution to an outside body. Institutions other than reformatories have come under the parole law. Persons other than first offenders are granted the privilege of parole; and the list of crimes for which parole may be granted has been greatly extended, some states imposing any limit in this regard.

The shift from the institutional authorities to an outside body from the granting of parole is very marked. At Elmira the original idea was to give parole as a sign that the man had completed a course of training, and so it was natural that the head of the institution should be the one to judge when that time had arrived. With the extension of the parole system to institutions other than reformatories there grew up the conviction that paroling should be intrusted to a group that would be more free from prejudice than the institutional authorities. From this conviction sprang the use of parole boards which granted all the paroles for a state. In other states, where the pardoning power had been used to relax the law, the granting of parole was given to the governor;

⁹ Brockway, Z. R., *Fifty years of prison service*, page 324.

and in a few cases the judges or the county commissioners control the paroles from county or municipal institutions.¹⁰

The principle that parole is to be granted on completion of a reformatory sentence seems to have been partly lost sight of. While most of the laws still say that parole shall not be granted unless the individual is believed to be likely to lead a decent life and not to prove a danger to society, still eligibility for parole has been extended to many other than reformatory institutions. The extension to the state prisons and penitentiaries may have been caused by the fact that the reformatory ideal has spread to them, so that they now believe that they too offer a system of treatment that is conducive to good citizenship. This is doubtful though, and it is more likely that the principle of parole has spread without much attention being paid to its primary object. As the legislatures of many states have no control over county and municipal institutions, parole is usually confined by state law to state institutions, but in some states it has been extended to jail sentences also. In these institutions, where little or no reformation is attempted, it is doubtful whether any of the essential spirit of the original parole system is left. The situation is further complicated by a confusion of paroling authorities, for the state boards, in most cases, have no control over the county and municipal jails. It is here that the power of paroling is given most frequently to the judges, a questionable procedure, for the judges in most county courts are already overburdened and subject to political influences.

Elmira, it will be remembered, was

¹⁰ Robinson, Louis N., *Penology in the United States*, Winston Company, Philadelphia, 1921, pages 228 and 229.

composed of a picked group of men, first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30. In the years since the establishment of that institution, parole has been extended to include a much wider range of persons. The adoption of the parole idea by institutions other than reformatories, of course, brought in persons of all ages, and at present few states put an age limit on parolees. Limiting parole to first-termers has also almost passed out of parole laws,

and, in the other extreme, many states allow the paroling of life-termers.

Just how all this is worked out today will be described in another paper. The systems vary greatly in form and efficiency and illustrate well what a confusion still exists in our penal philosophy. Still, until we know more definitely what form is best, it may be better that this experimentation of different forms by different states go on.

THE PHYSICIAN AND MENTAL ILLS IN MISSISSIPPI

N. B. BOND

DURING the past five years a first-hand study of all institutions in Mississippi which care for dependents, defectives, and delinquents has been made. When these studies were finished the finding which loomed above all else was the general ignorance of and indifference to the part which mental disease and feeble-mindedness play in our social problems. It was obvious, also, that these mental illnesses constitute the greatest public health problem in this state. Present facilities for the care and treatment of the insane and feeble-minded are inadequate, no preventive work is being done, and the general indifference to the problem of mental illness is appalling. In view of these conditions a layman may be justified in attempting the presentation of a great public health problem.

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL DISEASE IN MISSISSIPPI

In the two hospitals for the insane in this state there are approximately 2700 patients. In view of the long period of development which characterizes most mental disease it is conservative to estimate that outside these hospitals there

are 2700 individuals who are suffering from mental diseases in the early stages, and in whom the advanced symptom of insanity has not yet appeared. There is a third group also outside made up of permanently demented persons who have been discharged from the hospitals, and others who have been looked upon as harmless and have never been committed. These number approximately 2700. The three groups constitute a total of at least 8000 individuals in this state who are suffering from serious forms of mental disease. According to the testimony of a thoroughly trained psychiatrist formerly employed in this state, the number of people in our population whose mental health might be improved by the professional advice of a psychiatrist can be placed conservatively at 200,000. It is enough to say, however, that the number of beds occupied in hospitals for the insane in this state exceeds the number in all other hospitals.

We have invested in these two hospitals about \$3,000,000. The annual appropriations for their support is \$650,000. This sum is larger than the combined appropriations made by the legislature

for the full or partial support of nineteen general hospitals, the support of one of the largest state public health departments in the South, and the support of the largest tuberculosis sanatorium in America. Thus from the standpoint of legislative appropriations mental disease has become a larger problem than physical disease. And the tragedy of this situation is that this large sum is being spent not in giving effective first aid but almost entirely in giving last aid. While early diagnosis and treatment is of great importance, the typical patient received at our hospitals comes tied with a rope or otherwise manacled and accompanied by a deputy sheriff. Of more than ten thousand consecutive admissions at the Jackson hospital only six hundred were made voluntarily by physicians and friends. Our laws are such that no person suffering from a mental disease can be admitted to a hospital for mental diseases until he has developed advanced symptoms of insanity, and at such stage the prognosis is usually unfavorable. Such a procedure belongs to the Dark Ages, not to the social system of a modern state. And of all the money we are spending on this problem not a penny is spent on preventive measures.

This lack of adequate facilities for the early diagnosis and treatment of mental disease does not stand alone as a single deplorable situation; the effects of it ramify our entire social order and constitute the basis of much and grave injustice. A large per cent of the most serious crime in this state is the result of mental disease. Allow me to cite two or three cases which came to my attention recently while making some studies in the Mississippi penitentiary. In the hospital at one of the penitentiary camps I found a man in the stupor state of katatonic dementia praecox. More than a year before he

had killed his sweetheart because she refused to marry him. There were several hearings and trials, and the case was given much notoriety. The cost of these trials reached large proportions and the man was finally given a life sentence. After I had removed all doubt about the man's mental condition I called his case to the attention of penitentiary officials and urged them to transfer him to a hospital for the insane. They ridiculed the idea, stating that he was merely simulating insanity with the purpose of escaping. On further inquiry I learned that this man had for a long time been whipped regularly with the heavy 4-inch leather because he did not conduct himself as a normal person. Not until five months after I visited this man did the officials become convinced that he was insane and transfer him to a hospital for the insane. There can be but little doubt that he was insane at the time he committed the crime, and that the case fundamentally was never one for the courts but rather for medical science.

An official called my attention to another young man who was serving a life sentence. He went out gunning one morning and killed four prominent citizens of a Mississippi town before he could be overpowered. I made a thorough study of his case and found that he was a paranoic. He had an I.Q. of 114, he had read widely in literary and scientific fields, and he was the best worker in the penitentiary. In his home town where he killed the four men his reputation aside from his paranoic delusions was exemplary. The court in which this man was tried refused to consider his mental condition, though without doubt the jury did so.

In studying the case of one insane prisoner who was serving a life sentence for murder, I found that he had been

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examined by two psychiatrists—one called by the defense, and one by the state's attorney. The psychiatrist who was called by the state's attorney told me that he examined the man and reported that he was insane whereupon the state's attorney informed him that his testimony would not be needed and that he might return home on the next train. Also, the psychiatrist called by the defense stated to me that his findings were conclusive that the man was insane, though he was never allowed to testify.

In these cases and many others which I studied the fundamental problem was not crime but mental disease. It is a grievous error to mistake a thing for something else and treat it for what it is not. The courts, however, are not alone in this error; it is being made by practically every institution in this state which deals with social problems.

The general practitioner is the most important person in any program for dealing with this situation. These cases come under his observations first. He usually treats people in the incipient stages of mental disease for real or supposed ailments long before they are committed to hospitals for the insane. In detecting mental disease the examination includes four phases. First, the family history will show the presence or absence of insanity in direct and collateral lines and will indicate the presence or absence of constitutional inferiority with its susceptibility to mental disease or breakdown. Second, the personal history will show whether the subject has undergone any fundamental alteration of personality. Let it be understood that this is the essential condition in insanity—fundamental alteration of personality. Third, the physical examination is important but it requires no emphasis from me, a layman. I am constrained to say,

however, that influenza and some other diseases which affect the nerves lay a good basis for neurasthenia, and persons suffering from these should be warned against mental stress and strain until recovery is complete. Influenza has been mentioned especially because in recent months I have observed several tragic cases of neurasthenia which developed following influenza, and which certainly might have been avoided if the patients had been properly protected from worry and cares during the convalescent period. Fourth, the psychological examination includes orientation tests, which consist simply of questions which test the patient's awareness of himself, his surroundings, and the notion of time; questions which bring out his memory of recent and remote events; and ascertaining the presence or absence of delusions, hallucinations, and abnormal or prolonged states of elation or depression. This indicates briefly the scope of the four-fold examination; and I believe that any general practitioner can equip himself by a few weeks of spare-time study to make preliminary diagnosis and send on to the psychiatrist such cases as require special treatment at a time when treatment is most effective. I believe that mental diseases will never be dealt effectively until the general practitioner comes to detect these cases early and gives proper advice. There can be no doubt that modern conditions of life are contributing in increasing degree the exciting causes of mental diseases; and the practitioner who ignores this field will find himself increasingly handicapped in his work.

THE PROBLEM OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY IN MISSISSIPPI

Feeble-mindedness is not a diseased condition of the mind; it is merely a failure of the mind to develop normally. Ap-

proximately 90 per cent of all amentia is primary, that is, the result of an inherited deficiency for which there is no cure. These cases are people who are under stature mentally, and the problem which they present is not primarily a medical problem but one of an educational nature, and its solution lies in segregation and training. When feeble-minded children are brought to general practitioners relatives usually give as the cause some extrinsic factor such as a blow on the head or some severe illness. These genuine cases of secondary amentia are so few, however, that we need not give consideration to them here.

The examination of the feeble-minded, like that of the insane, has four phases. First, the family history will usually indicate the presence or absence of the defective strain, and it should include the history of parents and grandparents with collateral lines. Second, the physical examination will reveal the existence of any stigmata of degeneracy which will indicate general defective heredity. Third, the personal history will reveal the functioning of a subnormal brain in the subject's inability to manage himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence. Fourth, the psychological examination, which consists of intelligence testing, will reveal the actual mental capacity of the subject. This last is the determining phase of the examination. The three preceding phases reveal merely corroborative proof of mental deficiency; it is the intelligence test alone that makes the examination scientific and warrants a positive conclusion.

Four years ago Dr. Thomas Haines of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a mental deficiency survey in Mississippi and found that there were at least 9000 feeble-minded persons in this state. In various institutions the per

cent of inmates who are feeble-minded is as follows: Poor homes, 36; orphanages, 15; industrial and training schools, 10; county jails, 23. In the penitentiary 19 per cent of white and 41 per cent of negro convicts were feeble-minded; 1 per cent of public school children were likewise. In the hospitals for the insane there were 123 feeble-minded and 164 epileptic patients. My own examinations in the King's Daughters Home for unmarried mothers revealed that approximately 50 per cent of these girls are feeble-minded, and not one of them had an I.Q. as high as 100. One imbecile had given birth to a baby which through the efforts of a Christian organization was adopted into a prominent and wealthy family!

While members of the medical profession are recognized and charged by the laws of this state as the guardians of these mentally dwarfed and afflicted citizens of Mississippi, my studies with reference to the treatment of the feeble-minded show that some deplorable conditions exist. The work of the public schools is hindered much by the presence in the school rooms of more than seven thousand feeble-minded children. In numbers of good schools I found one nervous feeble-minded child giving the superintendent a greater problem of discipline than all other children in the school.

Some months ago the state was shocked when a train crashed into a bus which was transporting twenty-one school children, seven of whom were killed and eleven injured. I made a study of this case and found that the driver employed by the school trustees was a feeble-minded boy, and well known in the community as a "half-wit." I was told that if he had not been killed in the wreck he would have been lynched by the people of the community.

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sentences in the penitentiary for rape. All of these were feeble-minded. Four women serving sentences for murder were examined; one was backward, one was a moron, and two were imbeciles. Of four others serving sentences for manslaughter, two were morons and two were imbeciles. One feeble-minded man in the penitentiary had been confined in twenty-seven different jails and was then serving his third sentence in the penitentiary. He had killed three men, which was well known, and was suspected of killing three others. He was to be released soon after I visited him.

Child-caring and placing agencies receive many feeble-minded children; nevertheless neither these nor any other agencies give any consideration to the mental condition of children except when the deficiency is so glaring that they are forced to do so.

Our mistreatment of the feeble-minded in this state, and our failure to protect the normal population from them and their increase are nothing short of a public disgrace.

At Ellisville the state has founded the meager beginnings of an institution for the feeble-minded which by crowding now cares for 100 boys. The first appropriations four years ago were a third larger than for the present four-year period. While this institution is under admirable management, support is so meager that little can be done. Accommodations have been provided for neither white females nor negroes of either sex.

A MENTAL HYGIENE PROGRAM FOR MISSISSIPPI

The State Medical Association should turn its attention to these problems of mental disease and mental deficiency. In the past it has utterly ignored them. The state department of public health now sends into the schools a medical staff

which gives school children a physical examination and promotes a splendid program for improving physical health. The primary work of the schools, however, has to do with minds rather than bodies. To this present staff there should be added a thoroughly trained psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a case worker. These will be able to discover the neurotic and feeble-minded children and do much to arouse parents and the public to the need of segregating and caring for them properly. Again, I firmly believe that the time has come for mental hygiene to be taught in the high schools. I see no reason why high school boys and girls should not be taught how to care for their mental health just as grammar school students are taught to care for their physical health. There is here, of course, the problem of securing teachers competent to teach mental hygiene. Schools, however, deal with the minds of students, and I believe that every high school should be required by law to keep in its faculty a well trained psychologist. Preventive medicine offers the greatest opportunity for dealing effectively with disease. Therefore, there must be in the schools instruction concerning mental health similar to that which is now being given concerning the protection of physical health. Also, the colleges of Mississippi should offer courses in abnormal psychology. They are oblivious of such need at present. Yet the saddest tragedies that I have ever observed have occurred on the campuses of colleges in this state when brilliant students have drifted into hopeless insanity which might have been avoided if there had been proper instruction in mental hygiene.

Again, there should be much better provision made for institutional treatment and care of the insane and feeble-minded. Certainly there should be another hospital

for the treatment of incipient cases of mental disease, where patients might come voluntarily, and thus avoid that barbaric method of lunacy trial now in vogue. Also, clinics should be held at selected points over the state by a staff from such a hospital. Not until people change their present attitude of horror of the insane hospital, and by education are brought to the point where they seek treatment early, can we hope to make progress in combatting this rapidly growing problem.

The greatest need, however, is an adequately equipped institution for the feeble-minded. The physicians of Mississippi should be foremost in securing appropriations for this now almost forgotten colony of unfortunates. The institution now cares for one hundred. It has on

file nearly four hundred voluntary applications. No provision whatever is made for females or negroes. More than eight thousand are scattered in other institutions or out in the state, and many are reproducing in prolific fashion.

We are much concerned today about the breed of our cattle, hogs, and chickens, but we seem to care not a whit about the breed of our people. If the medical men of Mississippi will turn attention and effort to this problem of segregating defectives, the work will be facilitated by the rural conditions which now exist in this state; but if they neglect their obligation to guard the mental as well as physical health of our state there will certainly come an appalling increase of mental disease and deficiency with their train of pauperism, crime, and mounting costs.

THE NEWSBOYS OF DENVER

G. S. DOW

AS A result of a request from the City Club of Denver in September, 1924, a study of the newsboys of the city was made by the department of sociology of the University of Denver. The object of the survey was to find the facts, without any preconceived notions, in regard to the newsboys, their ages, nationalities, schools records, incomes; their hours of work, home conditions, delinquencies; the occupations of their parents, their parents' attitudes toward their work, etc. The results, while by no means startling, were of sufficient value to warrant their preservation and passing on to other cities.

METHODS OF WORK

In order to have some basis for study, a schedule was prepared which covered

the items mentioned above and several others besides. The work was done by seven students from the department of sociology. Four sources of information were available, and the workers were distributed according to the size of the tasks. First, there was the street survey. This included all newsboys under eighteen who sold papers on the streets of Denver. Of course, a few newsboys were missed, but this survey includes all of the regular downtown newsboys who sell in daytime and most of those who sell at night. The next source of information was the homes of the boys. The home visit was prepared for by telling the boy in advance of the worker's visit. The method was that of a friendly visit, the card not being filled out until later. The homes of 170 boys were thus studied. A third source

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Colored...
Spanish...
French...
English...
Greek...

Total...

* 209 boys

utilized was the school records of the boys. The investigators visited thirty-six schools, besides going over the records of the central office. Finally, the records of the juvenile court were studied carefully in order to obtain such information as might throw light upon the delinquencies of the newsboys.

In general, it must be said that the endeavor has been to make a study of newsboys rather than of homes; thus in the tables the same home may be counted more than once if there was more than one boy selling papers. In this survey the records of 228 boys from 170 different homes were included. Reliable information in regard to all facts was of course unobtainable from all these. Because of the very nature of the investigation information was not always accurate and was subject to much error. The policy was accuracy rather than comprehensiveness. Unless the evidence could be trusted as being at least fairly accurate or reliable it was thrown out and not counted.

FACTS FOUND IN THE SURVEY

Nationality. The nationalities represented are listed in Table I.

TABLE I

NATIONALITY	NUMBER	PER CENT
Jewish.....	114	54.0
American.....	52	24.6
Mexican.....	11	5.2
Italian.....	10	4.7
German.....	7	3.3
Irish.....	5	2.3
Russian.....	3	1.4
Colored.....	3	1.4
Spanish (Spain).....	2	1.0
French.....	2	1.0
English.....	1	0.5
Greek.....	1	0.5
Total.....	211*	

* 209 boys and 2 girls.

In this table we endeavored to give the real racial grouping. Often the reply would be Russian, Roumanian, etc., but when, upon further inquiry, we found that the family was Russian-Jewish, for instance, we classified the family as Jewish. In regard to the other nationalities we would accept the birthplace of the parents. One possible reason for the great predominance of Jews was the fact that the circulators for the papers who picked out the newsboys were nearly all Jews, and that the man who hired the circulators of the largest paper was also a Jew. Upon inquiry at the newspaper offices we found out that this condition has not always prevailed, that in the past more newsboys have been Italian and Irish, possibly for the same reasons. We even found the curious fact that some Italian boys were employed because the circulators thought

TABLE II

AGE	NUMBER	AGE	NUMBER
17	5	11	23
16	12	10	15
15	33	9	19
14	30	8	9
13	36	7	6
12	31	6	5

that they were Jewish, and for this reason they were reluctant at first in giving their nationality. We did find that as a group the Jewish boys were the most successful in selling, and this may have some influence in their predominance.

Age distribution. Table II shows the age distribution of the group.

The average age (arithmetical mean) was 13 years. The ages most frequently encountered (mode) were twelve to fifteen, and these are the ages most desired by the papers. We found out that occasionally boys under six sell papers on the Denver streets but we encountered none

on the days in which the survey was made. We found several eighteen and over but disregarded these. Most of the younger boys were employed as helpers by the older boys, although some did work independently.

General health. No medical examination was attempted. The results given in the next table were tabulated by the workers from their general observation, checked by inquiry in the homes. We endeavored to recheck at the public schools but found that their physical examination system was so new and the examinations so rapid that this information was unreliable. At least, we found more boys actually in bad health than were recorded at the schools. With this explanation the following data are given:

General health

In good health.....	134
In fair health.....	43
In bad health.....	38

Effect of work on health

No apparent injurious effect.....	124
Injurious effect.....	28

We found three boys in the open air school and several who either had been in the Jewish National Hospital for Tuberculosis or who had been sent there after we had interviewed them on the streets. In general, it appeared that selling in the afternoons had little if any injurious effect. The same did not seem to be the case of the boys who sold at night; and these latter boys in general were poorer clad and in worse health than those who worked during the day. Selling Saturday nights and Sunday mornings is serious if not dangerous, especially in bad weather.

Personal appearance of boys. The estimate of the investigators is given in Table III. It must be recorded that they

took a generous attitude, not counting minor things.

Family conditions. The facts in Table IV were obtained.

In 163 out of the 170 homes where reliable information could be obtained we found 36 mothers who worked in addition to the regular household duties and 127 who did not, or 77.9 per cent who did not go out to work. These homes accounted for 39 boys whose mothers worked, against 167 or 81.1 per cent who did not work. The occupations followed by these mothers were chiefly unskilled.

TABLE III

APPEARANCE	NUM- BER	PER CENT
Neat and clean.....	65	35.1
Fair or average.....	82	44.3
Bad—ragged or dirty.....	38	20.5
Total.....	185	100.0

TABLE IV

PARENTAL CONDITIONS	NUM- BER	PER CENT
Boys, both of whose parents were living.....	181	91.9
Boys, both of whose parents were living together.....	175	88.3
Boys, whose parents were separated....	4	2.0
Boys, whose fathers were dead.....	8	4.0
Boys, whose mothers were dead.....	7	3.5
Boys, both of whose parents were dead..	1	0.5
Boys, parents living, but boy living with other relatives.....	1	0.5
Boys, father in asylum.....	1	0.5
Boys, father ran away.....	1	0.5
Total boys considered in above.....	198	

The chief explanation for the unusually high percentage of parents living together is unquestionably a result of the high proportion of Jewish families; and the low percentage of mothers who were working is due to the same reason. Very few Jewish mothers did any work other

than taking care of the home. Those who worked were chiefly American mothers. In regard to this, we found that the mothers who did not want their boys to sell papers were generally American mothers. They preferred to go out to work themselves if the family needed additional income, whereas the Jewish

TABLE V

TYPE OF WORKER	NUMBER	PER CENT
In business—generally small business..	54	33.7
In business for self (included in above).	49	30.0
In business, working for someone else.....	5	3.7
Unskilled laborers.....	36	22.5
Skilled laborers.....	23	14.4
Semi-skilled laborers.....	22	13.7
Public employees.....	3	1.9
Capitalists.....	3	1.9
Professional.....	1	0.6
Miscellaneous workers.....	7	4.4
Did not work—illness, etc.....	11	6.9
Total fathers recorded.....	160	

TABLE VI

INCOMES	NUMBER OF BOYS FROM HOMES OF SUCH INCOMES	INCOMES	NUMBER OF BOYS FROM HOMES OF SUCH INCOMES
\$0.00	4	\$5.00	17
0.60	2	6.00	11
1.00	5	6.50	1
1.50	4	7.00	4
2.00	12	8.00	7
2.25	4	9.00	2
2.50	10	10.00	2
3.00	39	11.00	1
3.50	16	13.00	1
4.00	28		

Average (arithmetical mean) income, \$3.86.

mothers seldom objected to their children selling papers.

In regard to the occupations of the fathers we found of course a wide variety of picturesque occupations. These we have grouped in Table V.

Family income. In order to help deter-

mine the need of the family we endeavored to ascertain the family income, estimating in terms of the daily wage. While subject to error, we feel that our figures are at least as accurate as the Federal income tax figures which are so often quoted. But one thing must be kept in mind, that these workers are not employed all the year. We found this condition quite general, especially among those following skilled or semi-skilled trades. We also found the income of the peddlers very uncertain; in fact few held high-paying, steady, desirable positions. With these

TABLE VII

CLASS	NUMBER	PER CENT
Very poor (0 to \$1.50 a day).....	16	0.09
Poor (\$1.00 to 2.50 a day).....	26	0.15
Fair (\$3.00 to 4.00 a day).....	83	0.49
Good (\$5.00 to 7.00 a day).....	33	0.19
Very good (\$8.00 to 13.00 a day).....	13	0.08

TABLE VIII

CONDITION OF NEED	NUMBER OF BOYS AFFECTED	PER CENT
Family needs the income of newsboy..	103	63.2
Family thinks it needs the income....	14	8.6
Family does not need the income of newsboy.....	46	28.2

explanations are given the income statistics (Table VI). These might be classified as in Table VII.

In making out the above tables the income from all members of the family, except the newsboys themselves, was included. In general we found the families in hard circumstances, and while few were in actual poverty few had really decent incomes, for even those with large daily incomes were very uncertain of work. We often found bad conditions even with fairly good incomes, in part due to large families and in part to poor management.

On the other hand, there were many quite comfortable homes with very small incomes, showing expert management.

The workers attempted to classify in regard to need, using their judgement from the facts and conditions found out. While these are of course merely estimates

TABLE IX

TIME OF DAY WORKED	NUMBER OF BOYS	PER CENT
All day.....	5	2.6
Week day afternoon only.....	70	36.1
Week day morning and afternoon....	1	0.5
Evening only.....	7	3.6
Afternoon weekly and Saturday night (11:30 to 1:00) only.....	52	26.8
Afternoon weekly and all day Saturday	1	0.5
Afternoon weekly and Sunday morning only.....	4	2.0
Afternoon weekly, Saturday night and Sunday morning.....	16	8.2
Saturday night and Sunday morning only.....	13	6.7
Saturday night only.....	21	10.8
Sunday morning only.....	3	1.5
Very irregular.....	6	3.1
Total newsboys thus enumerated...	194	

TABLE X

NUMBER OF HOURS	NUMBER OF BOYS	NUMBER OF HOURS	NUMBER OF BOYS
1½	1	5	4
2	9	6	1
3	80	7	2
3½	28	8	1
4	17	10	1

Total number of boys enumerated, 145.

Average number of hours worked per day (arithmetic mean), 3.4.

Number of hours usually worked (mode) 3.0.

they are probably as good as any hasty survey could expect to determine. These estimates are given in Table VIII.

Time of day worked. After a study of the hours worked the figures in Table IX were found. A few of the boys would not give this information. Others gave it in

such a manner that we could not trust it, but these were few as the high percentage shows. Of course a few boys shifted from one class to another.

Number of hours worked per day. Table X refers only to those who work during the week.

Number of hours worked per week. Table XI includes those who work on Saturday night and Sunday morning. The figures

TABLE XI

HOURS	BOYS	HOURS	BOYS	HOURS	BOYS	HOURS	BOYS
3	2	13	1	23	8	33	3
3½	4	14	1	24	20	34	0
4	13	15	4	25	8	35	2
5	8	16	1	26	3	36	1
6	0	17	0	27	2	30	1
7	1	18	41	28	14	56	1
8	0	19	4	29	0	60	1
9	9	20	0	30	4		
10	3	21	18	31	1		
11	0	22	11	32	0		
12	9						

Total number boys, 211.

Average number of hours worked, 19.3.

TABLE XII

YEARS	NUMBER OF BOYS	YEARS	NUMBER OF BOYS
½ or less	51	4	20
½-1	13	5	9
1-2	39	6	1
2-3	44	7	4
3	27	8	3

in regard to the number of hours worked per week are subject to error for the simple reason that most of the boys did not know exactly. Also their quitting hours were not regulated by the clock but depended upon when they sold all their papers. But we feel that the above figures are as nearly accurate as it would be possible to obtain them. When no other data were obtainable Saturday night was counted as four hours and Sunday morn-

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ing as five hours, as we found in general those were the number of hours worked on those days.

Number of years boy sold papers. The figures in Table XII are not entirely satisfactory, but are best obtainable. The boys have worked all this time for the same paper, or even continuously. Part of the time they may work for one paper exclusively, then later for the rival and then again for both of them at the same time. They may have quit or been fired

TABLE XIII

REASON	NUMBER	PER CENT
Wanted money.....	49	31.2
Family needed money, or to help family.....	45	28.7
Needed money.....	29	18.5
Got corner from brother.....	6	3.8
To help brother.....	3	1.9
Wanted to.....	8	5.1
Earn way through school.....	3	1.9
Just for fun (including one of the two girls).....	3	1.9
Spending money.....	2	1.3
Had to (probably means that family required).....	2	1.9
Suggested by friend.....	2	1.9
Mother wanted to.....	2	1.9
Savings—boy actually has savings account.....	1	0.6
No special reason.....	1	0.6
Doctor advised (family also verified).....	1	0.6

several times, but they have sold papers on the streets about the length of time indicated. In regard to selling all the year, 115 said they did and 17 that they did not, generally stopping when the weather got too cold. Part of this was the result of experience and part the mere statement of what they expected to do.

Reasons for working. In regard to why the boy began selling we naturally received a variety of replies, but these have been gathered up under the headings in Table XIII, the endeavor being to keep

to the real meaning of the boy without any attempt to analyze its truth or correctness.

Earnings. In regard to earnings we met with some difficulties. Some of the boys at first refused to say, not caring evidently to disclose business secrets. Then when we checked up at home we often found a great difference between what the boy said and what his parents gave. In such cases we would split the difference. While we never intentionally gave away what the boy told us, the parents would sometimes tell us that the boy gave it higher than it was because he was ashamed to admit that he had not sold more. On the other hand, we found that most of the boys spent part of their earnings on shows, candy, or lost it matching pennies or shooting craps, so naturally did not let their parents know their actual sales.

Average daily earnings of 155 boys..... \$.74
 Average weekly earnings of 213 boys..... 4.25
 Average Saturday and Sunday earnings of 64 boys..... 1.37

As for the spending of these earnings, 128, or 75.3 per cent of the boys took them home to their families, while 42, or 24.7 per cent of them spent the money on themselves. Fourteen of the boys bought their own clothes, and thirty-two had savings accounts or insurance.

School records. Investigation revealed the school statistics given in Tables XIV and XV.

Juvenile court records. Upon examination of the records of the Juvenile Court, 27 boys were found to have court records. The offenses with which they were charged and the numbers accused of those offenses were: theft (14), truancy (4), incorrigibility (3), shop lifting (2), loitering on streets (2), malicious mischief, insubordination (2), molesting little girl (2,

one a girl), gambling, fighting, on street late at night, breaking and entering, and public disturbance. Of these twenty-one

TABLE XIV

SCHOOL DISTRIBUTION OF NEWSBOYS	NUMBER
In grade schools.....	132
In junior high schools.....	9
In senior high schools.....	35
In parochial schools.....	13
In open air schools.....	1
In St. Regis College (Catholic Junior College).....	1
In special room for defective (included above).....	1
Sent to State Industrial School (included above).....	2
Too young to go to school (1 in Kindergarten).....	2
Stopped school to go to work.....	10
No school record.....	25
Total number.....	228

TABLE XV
SCHOOL STANDING

STANDING	SCHOLARSHIP		CITIZENSHIP (DEPORTMENT)	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
A	8	4.4	30	21.6
B	51	28.0	44	31.7
C	97	53.3	52	37.4
D	19	10.4	12	5.6
E	7	3.0	1	0.7

Number reported retarded, 31, or 17 per cent.

were first offenses, two second offenses, two third and two fourth.

In comparing these with their school

records it was found that in regard to scholarship one has A standing, eight B; seven C, four D, and one E. As to citizenship three were recorded as A, four B, six C and one D. The attendance of fourteen was recorded as O.K. and eight were marked as truants.

While there are no especially deplorable conditions among the newsboys of Denver, it is felt that there are certain things which should be done in the interest of their welfare if they are to remain in the work. For one thing, the relation between the boys and the papers is not satisfactory. Intense rivalry between the papers keeps the boys at the mercy of their employers. In some cases circulators have actually beaten boys because they tried to sell rival papers. Perhaps the night work, with its attendant health and moral hazards, is the most serious problem. Some of the boys sleep in the alleys, some in the Union Station, and some in the lodging rooms furnished by the newspapers. In these places gambling was found to be the rule; in fact, sleep was almost an impossibility.

Of course, this whole problem must be viewed in the spirit of broad social planning for the future, and Denver might well ask herself whether or not she is paying too much in future misery and disorganization by allowing boys of six, eight, and ten years of age to sell papers on the streets at all hours of the night.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Reviewing our immigration policy from the first movement toward restriction in 1838, Walter L. Treadway concludes in the October *Scientific Monthly* that opinion has always favored excluding the mentally and socially unfit. Examinations at ports

of arrival and penalties imposed on steamship companies have been partially successful in keeping them out; but no machinery can reach doubtful cases or those who possess latent qualities for injury to community or national welfare.

Mexicans and Irish appear to contribute by far the largest proportion of mental disorders. At present the only cause for deportation after acceptance is the becoming of a public charge within five years, but other social tests should be devised and used to determine desirability for citizenship or permanent residence.

The death rate for Negro infants and children in this country is from two to three times that of white children, though it is now showing a greater decrease. Determining factors in this high rate are the low wage-earning power of the family, lack of organized health agencies, and ignorance of parents. It is aggravated in the South by the rural character of the population, and in the North by instability and lack of adjustment. Any program for improvement must be at once economic, educational, and preventive. New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Memphis, and Houston show the best record in "Health Work for Negro Children," declares F. B. Washington in *Opportunity* for September. The lesson of the thirtieth Ward in Philadelphia, where half the population consists of well-to-do Negroes under good health protection, is that colored children need have a death rate no higher than that of white.

A lucid account of "The Development of Social Work" and its present status is given by Mary C. Jarrett in the September-October *American Review*. Social work is not an application of sociology but an art growing out of the instinct for mutual aid. Today it is trying to find a basis in scientific truth and to use scientific method. Beginning with the religious orders of St. Vincent de Paul, it was first a species of individual case work to help the sick and poor. The second stage came with the idea of community service, ex-

pressed in neighborhood centers and settlement houses. The third stage comprises public education and preventive work directed toward the larger social problems. Research should be merely the more scholarly aspect of these three lines of activity. Of recent years professional standards for workers have been insisted on, and their education fostered, especially in the universities.

The same subject is approached through a brief history of the National Conference of Social Work by Elia L. C. Vollstedt in the September-October *Journal of Applied Sociology*. Tracing its structure, growing activities, and principles from the early eighteen-seventies, she shows how the emphasis has run from relief through prevention to constructive measures, and in a chart indicates the nature of each temporary and permanent committee and its duration. . . . "Methods of Interviewing" are various as used by the physician, lawyer, priest, journalist, detective, social worker, psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst. The social research interview, explains E. S. Bogardus in this and the preceding issue, aims at discovering human attitudes and the bases for interpreting them. The problem is to overcome all inhibitions on the part of the subject, which are governed by certain psychological mechanisms, and the principles of procedure include sympathy, gradual approach, common interest, skillful questioning, and discrimination of evidence.

In this century of the child, emphasis upon welfare of the young may be termed the long view of social engineering. In the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September are assembled thirty-two papers dealing with "New Values in Child Welfare," many

of them read before the third All-Philadelphia Conference on Social Work last March. The safeguarding of the family is approached through accident compensation, control of industrial diseases, and family allowances, while the child is reached directly through social and mental hygiene, the juvenile court, the school, benevolent foundations, churches, fraternal orders, and federal bureaus. The conference addresses are concerned with Everychild—what he needs and lives on, how he plays, keeps in health, and develops mentally and spiritually, and the problems he presents to family and public agencies, settlements, child-placing societies, and schools.

The present relationship between the welfare agencies of a community and its judicial system is nowhere satisfactory. Thomas D. Eliot presents in the *American Journal of Sociology* for July, by means of two rather elaborate charts, a logical plan for the division of labor between these sets of institutions. One chart indicates existing areas of social life under their joint or separate control; the other is an ideal scheme representing a functional arrangement of social work in which the courts and the educational and welfare agencies cover only their proper fields. The author takes up in turn children classed as superior, normal, dependent, neglected, truant, laboring, and delinquent, and offers a number of general principles on which their control or treatment should be based.

The Southwest boosts its climate to draw health seekers, and in consequence has received thousands of needy tubercular patients and their families who impose a real burden on the communities

taking them in. Hence, as J. S. Whitney shows in the *Survey* for September 15, a number of cities are struggling with immense programs of social work that cannot be financed. . . . A defense of institutional care for children, sharply criticised in a recent issue, is made by J. R. Thompson, who declares it must raise itself to the plane of hospital care if high sickness and death rates are to be reduced, and instances the methods and record of St. Anne's Infant Asylum in Cleveland as highly successful, especially in the case of children less than a year old. . . . The Stanley McCormick school, a home mission experiment in the mountains of western North Carolina, has for four years been serving a district in rapid and almost violent transition to modern economic and social conditions. Its director, Leroy F. Jackson, outlines the curriculum it has adopted to help the young people understand life in their changing world and to assume leadership.

The mental growth of the pre-school child is still a pioneer study. Beginning with the observation of exceptional children, the Yale Psych-clinic has in the past few years, under Dr. Arnold Gesell, been interesting itself in the common or garden variety. "Before Six," as Mary Ross reminds us in the same magazine for October 1, the average child has made his most important physical and mental adaptations and has developed three times as rapidly as he will do in the succeeding twelve years. The clinic has devised no less than forty tests for children under a year, and a hundred and fifty for those under six, to be used as tools in estimating normal growth of body and mind, and so guiding them into that happy adjustment of emotions and habits that is called personality.

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THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by Leroy E. Bowman, 503 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

TANGIBLE RESULTS OF COÖRDINATION OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE WORK IN A DEFINED CITY AREA

LE ROY E. BOWMAN

I. CONDITIONS FOR A COMMUNITY EXPERIMENT

COÖRDINATION has become a shibboleth of great power on the tongues of social workers but one of indefinite meaning. Its value has been almost undisputed and its virtue extolled in innumerable instances in which projects were in the initial stages and the organizers desired the "right" attitude on the part of other persons, agencies and organizations. A calm, more or less dispassionate statement of results of an extensive experiment in coördination covering a period of three years is therefore of considerable value. Such is the report of the East Harlem (New York City) Health Center. From the report, from statements of the organizer and director, and from a considerable study of the center itself over its entire history, this account is written.

Not only has a systematic scrutiny been exercised in the management of the Center, so that at every turn the efficacy of its plan and of every department could be ascertained; but from the very inception the conditions of wholesome development and with them opportunity to evaluate have been maintained. The lack of these essentials to a social experiment has destroyed at the outset some of the best known attempts at community ex-

perimenting. In the first place there was a minimum of pretentious assertions of results expected; the experiment was to be undertaken if the groups involved would join in, and the results would appear as they developed. There was confidence in the plan but no absolute devotion to an abstract and unproved theory. In the second place there was a minimum of disturbance of the persons, agencies and relations in the community. Sixteen agencies changed their places of business to enter the Center; twenty-two became integral parts of it, but the program of each, its work, its methods, its personnel, were untouched. As the Center grew there were changes due to it but they were welcome growths, rather than formulated and forced changes. The Center added to an aggregate of work, and built on what already existed. The experimental phases touched only coördination and new aspects of more complete health service, and the vast bulk of proved social work was the basis of the plan. Third, but not least in the consideration of conditions of the experiment, should be noted the care with which no leader nor group has been allowed to exploit the plan. There were not one but a score of men with national reputations who planned and criticized. It is possible that the brains and experience of these men account for the success of the

work. In the humble opinion of the writer, however, the most excellent plan of coördination can be worked out on paper by a mediocre mind. The finest plan can be wrecked moreover by the suspicion of partisan advantage to accrue from a community project, or by the effort of an ambitious organizer to secure self aggrandisement. Each one of the original planners was above the suspicion or the need of petty advantage.

II. ORGANIZATION ELEMENTS

The time was ripe in New York City and the stage all set for something worth while to happen. It was the period immediately following the war when many social agencies were planning to capitalize what was thought to be a permanent spirit of generosity, helpfulness, coöperation and broadmindedness. The Red Cross was looking for its peace-time program and preparing to turn war energy and personnel into civic usefulness. The note of public health was constantly sounded by the progressives and the socially trained within the organization's leadership. The stimulus that created the Center went further than the organization, however, and antedated the war; before America's entry in the world struggle the leaders in social service and health work in New York City had talked of a district building in which to house a number of agencies. Several plans had found expression in typed form and at least three of these plans played a part in the first conferences concerning the new project. The war had brought certain leaders in public health into closer relation and had identified them with the Red Cross. The war over, the Red Cross offered a convenient channel for leadership energy and an excellent organ of prestige for a scheme of coördination. Fortunately it had not been engaged in the

field of technical health service and had few limitations of tradition and personnel that inevitably attach to efficient accomplishment.

A combination of circumstances made for understanding between the New York County Chapter and National Headquarters, and for willingness of the national organization to finance an experiment in the largest city in the country. There was then a local organization that did not arouse antipathy in the health field, anxious and able to be of assistance, with prestige and surplus leadership and supported by its national headquarters. There was an acquaintance and understanding on the part of a group of the ablest and foremost health workers in the country, and an idea that had been fermenting. The Executive Officer of the Red Cross chapter, who succeeded to chief responsibility in the initial planning stages, brought to the project all the facts that a staff could discover, all the criticisms that interested persons would offer, and then gave place in the scheme for the contribution of each able prominent public health worker.

III. THE ORGANIZATION

Specifically, the announcement of the National Headquarters of the American Red Cross that public health would be a major activity of the organization was followed on December 2, 1919, by the appointment by the New York City Chapter of a special Health Service Committee to suggest recommendations as to health activities for the Chapter to conduct. The Health Service Committee recommended the establishment of a health center the purpose of which was described as follows:

To demonstrate the methods and the value of the coördination of all health and kindred activities in a defined local area, including about 100,000 people;

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The center was to be a demonstration of the value of the coördination of all health and kindred activities in a defined local area, including about 100,000 people;

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The center was to be a demonstration of the value of the coördination of all health and kindred activities in a defined local area, including about 100,000 people;

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to demonstrate the methods and the value of a well rounded health program in any one district of the city, such program to be secured through the coordination of agencies already existing and working in the district, and the establishment of such additional agencies as are needed to make a fairly complete health program for the district.

The recommendation was accepted by the chapter, the money for a three year demonstration appropriated by the National American Red Cross and in January, 1921, twenty-two agencies joined formally in the project.

Statistics and pertinent facts concerning various sections in New York City were carefully gone into and finally the decision made for the East Harlem district; since it possessed a fair number of health and welfare agencies, death and sickness rates were neither excessively high nor especially low, and in addition it was a residence district. About two-thirds of the residents are Italian, the other third being comprised of Jews, Irish, negroes, and a sprinkling of many nationalities. The area selected covers $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 87 city blocks; contains a population of 112,199 (1920 census), 3205 infants under one year, 16,549 children one to five years, 27,316, six to fifteen years. The population divides as follows: 6878 native white, 53,965 of foreign parentage, 50,385 foreign born; of these, 33,861 are Italians, 12,030 Austrians, Bulgarians, Germans, Roumanians, Russians and Polish, 2283 Irish and British, 2211 of other nationalities. The principal occupations are those of laborers, factory hands and petty tradesmen. Housing is below the average.

The plan of the Center had been carefully worked out. The next step was, if anything, the most important, namely, the selection of an organizer and director. Fortunately a man was found thoroughly experienced in the lay administration of health services and in the strategy of

community organization. To his self-effacement, his care in giving a chance for each group and each person to do his part in the planning and control of the center is due considerable of the success of the experiment. The Health Department took the lead among cooperating agencies at the start. To quote excerpts from the report:

An analysis of the cooperating organizations shows that there were two nursing agencies, four family welfare, eleven health, and five community agencies, such as the settlements. It was arranged for the first three groups devoted to nursing, family welfare and health to utilize the Health Center as an actual operating headquarters. The principal community agencies entered the field of the Health Center insofar as their health activities were concerned, and naturally retained their individual headquarters where, from scattered vantage points, they could serve the district better than from a central base. The services offered by these twenty-two original agencies were many and varied. A preliminary survey, however, revealed several gaps in neighborhood health work that would have to be met. The method of filling in these gaps in health service was to ask one of the existing agencies to add another branch to its work whenever possible. No provision, for example, had been made for general medical examinations of apparently well people. The Department of Health agreed in September, 1921, to conduct such a clinic under its Bureau of Preventable Diseases. By arrangement with different agencies six preventive clinics and a Health Information Bureau were added to the local health program through the cooperation of the New York City Department of Health, the Association for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease, State Charities Aid Association, and the Red Cross. It has been the consistent policy of the last named organization to cover a situation only when no other agency would or could act and then only for demonstration purposes. It is noteworthy that within two years, all of the clinics originated by the Red Cross had sufficiently proved their place in the district health program to be taken over by local agencies operating in such special fields.

In the beginning, no two organizations had the same district limits. Yet it was apparent that unified work called for identical districts. The agency operating the largest group of services in the district, the Department of Health, was selected as the one whose boundaries should be respected. The

next move was on the part of the agencies to try to adjust their former boundaries to conform with those of the Department of Health. The step was a natural one for these agencies establishing new work, but for these which were component district parts of a large city-wide organization it was a more delicate and difficult task. Nevertheless, the cooperating agencies as rapidly as possible accepted the new boundaries until all were coterminous with the Department of Health except the family welfare agencies which found it impossible to make so radical a change. They agreed, however, to segregate by a dotted line on the map and by separate reports, that part of their local district within the East Harlem Health Center area.

Free rental for a period of three years and free light and heat were offered to the affiliating agencies. Free janitor and telephone service were first included but the complications arising led to limiting the former to the halls of other premises used in common, and the latter to the use of a switchboard operator. Three separate but interdependent departments are responsible for the management of the Center. These are:

1. A Council made up of representatives from the cooperating agencies, the neighborhood, and the Red Cross. The Council has no authority over the activities carried on by the various organizations (each having complete autonomy in the administration and operation of its special work) but has authority over questions relating to the operation of the building itself and the establishment of health activities directly or indirectly of a nature not already carried on in the Health Center as well as the promotion generally of the aims of the demonstration.

2. An Executive Committee of eleven members elected by the Council and serving for it between its meetings.

3. An Executive Officer (appointed at the outset by the Chairman of the Red Cross County Chapter, subject to the approval of the Council) who acts as liaison officer among the agencies and as the Red Cross representative, and is responsible directly to the Executive Committee.

The East Harlem Health Center Council is made up of fifteen representatives from the cooperating agencies; fifteen representatives from the East Harlem District—social workers, representative citizens, etc.; and fifteen members from the Executive and Health Service Committees of the Red Cross, because of the special interest of the Red Cross in the experiment.

IV. SERVICES

Around the East Harlem Health Center the ground has been from the first a

laboratory for testing and trying out new methods of increasing neighborhood health. Whereas any of these experiments might be undertaken apart from a health center's auspices, it is unlikely that a related pattern of health work could be drawn for a district except under organized leadership or that the experiments would be as many or as thoroughgoing as those which have been built up in the East Harlem district with the encouragement of the East Harlem Health Center. Among these new services are: (1) a dental hygiene unit, (2) a demonstration of an extension on a large scale of the application of the Schick Test to School children, (3) a cooperative arrangement to examine children from two districts in Manhattan registering for the next school term, (4) a nutrition program for two years, (5) a demonstration conducted by the private Society for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis and the Department of Health of the kind of work that should be rendered around a district tuberculosis clinic, (6) an Infant and Child Welfare Station conducted in a neglected part of the neighborhood outside the Center.

The report reads:

The largest and most inclusive of all the demonstrations sponsored by the East Harlem Health Center is the Nursing and Health Demonstration underwritten by four of the cooperating agencies in the Center—the Red Cross, the Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service, the Maternity Center Association and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Certain members of the Health Service Committee who had stood for a perfected intensive demonstration of executive character, rather than for one simply in coordination, proposed that a nursing demonstration be also undertaken in a restricted area of the same district. Certain of the agencies in the Center agreed to withdraw their activities from two of the sanitary zones of the East Harlem district and to turn this field wholly over to the proposed intensive experiment. The support of this project, it was decided, would cost \$65,000 a year, which would allow \$1.50 per capita for the type of health work that was contemplated. Half this budget, or \$32,500, is being met by contribu-

tions from the four agencies interested. The remaining half is contributed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The two sanitary zones included in the Demonstration area have a population of 40,000. The people are all living in twenty blocks. The geographical unit is very small and can be covered in a few minutes' walk, but one of the great difficulties is the climbing of tenement house stairs, which is more fatiguing than walking longer distances on the level.

In addition to the home visiting and medical conferences, the Demonstration is conducting various classes. One sanitary area is organized on the basis of having a group of special workers attend to the maternity, infant welfare, pre-school, sickness and nutrition needs, each group being under a specially trained supervisor. In this area it is possible for one family to be visited by five workers in the same month. In the other sanitary area, the division is along geographical lines, each nurse carrying one district in which she performs all the necessary health service.

The aim of the health program has been to substitute for the former unrelated and more or less routine efforts of the neighborhood toward health instruction, a vigorous and continuous campaign to make health a vital magnet of community interest and desire.

A majority of the churches in the community have preached health by emphasizing from their pulpits in statements supplied by the Health Center the importance of keeping well and the wisdom of periodic medical examinations. The schools, have been leaders in every effort to further health education. Poster and essay contests, a regular schedule of health talks, classroom health teaching, oral hygiene and health excursions to the Center are some examples of school coöperation. The district physicians, individually and as members of the local Medical Society, have endorsed and aided the work of the Health Center. As a medium for the distribution of literature, the Center with the organized aid of the local agencies has proved effective.

In waiting rooms of the Health Center, from time to time are arranged health

exhibits made up of posters and screens selected from available material belonging to the different agencies. Important items in the Center's educational program are the popular health talks and lectures. The health talks have been augmented by health classes, differentiated from the former by an organized course of study.

The report goes on:

To meet a special local need a rather unique arrangement was made through coöperation with the Education Committee for Non-English Speaking Women whereby English was taught to foreigners in terms of health. The schools quite logically were selected for the first of the special projects promoted by the Health Center to visualize and dramatize the subject of health. The project, a contest among the local school teachers for the best programs of classroom health teaching, was carried out in coöperation with the American Child Health Association. The most inclusive of the special projects undertaken by the Health Center to popularize health in the East Harlem district was the house-to-house canvass for health education. In this first effort, 7912 families were visited (about one-third of the entire number in the district), and 6360 families were interviewed, of whose members 5982 were referred to various agencies. During the period of the canvass and one month afterward 825, or about 14 per cent of those invited to visit the Health Center, responded according to the appointment slips returned to the agencies.

Three years of strengthening and concentrating the health education program for the East Harlem district have culminated in the centralizing of all such activities under the leadership of a single agency, the New York Tuberculosis Association, whose primary interest is health promotion and education. A Health Shop, directed and financed by the Association, is operated in coöperation with the Department of Health and the twenty-two agencies within the Center. The special objective of the Shop is the periodic health examination, this being the first step necessary for every citizen to take in the interest of health conservation and the prevention of disease. Special courses of lectures on selected subjects for various neighborhood groups and courses of lectures suitable for nurses, teachers and social workers as well as informal health talks and motion pictures for assemblies in schools, churches, and industrial organizations, are arranged through the Health Shop. Show window exhibits attract the attention of passersby.

A one-reel film, "It Works," has been made of

Health Center activities with diagram and captions telling both the story of daily tasks and of yearly progress.

V. HEALTH BOOKKEEPING

One of the chief values of coördinated social work in a neighborhood is the clearer comprehension that results of what is being accomplished through the efforts of all the agencies. A statistical worker was employed for something over a year devoting particular attention to the morbidity and mortality rates previous to the advent of the Center and the consequent changes. This sort of check-up essential to an intelligently controlled social service is impractical and even impossible for separate neighborhood agencies. The efforts of the East Harlem Center have been instrumental in bringing about a Joint Statistics Bureau for New York City health centers and the beginnings of comparable records. The statistical work revealed sanitary areas within the district in which peculiarly bad conditions existed with respect to one or another disease, and showed the need for health service and education in some of the more inaccessible districts, a need followed by practical efforts of the Center and neighborhood agencies. In the case of infant mortality, for example, statistical studies indicated the need of special work on the problem of diarrheal diseases and pneumonia, of special effort in one or two sanitary districts.

Record keeping involves obviously some joint account for the agencies of the health preventive and remedial forces, or some way to ascertain how and to what extent the needs are being met. Hence, work on record forms became an important first step. Attendance at the Center at each agency was recorded in a simple, effective way through the information bureau which kept a card in a central file distinct from the confidential files of the agencies.

Total number of visits in the three years is 199,454 by 33,524 individuals. An analysis of addresses of visitors to the Center showed that proximity is a large factor in the use of the building and its assets; a factor that also shows in a study of mortality rates by zones. Further study revealed the fact that the conduct of social work in an area for a number of years will make it more responsive to social agencies than an area equally distant in which social work has not been carried on, more responsive in the proportion of 152 persons attending per 1000 population to 80 persons attending per 1000 population. A uniform system was devised for reporting by the agencies in the center; three forms were used for nursing, clinic and family welfare. Each form shows some identical items, as: number of visits to homes, age periods reached by each agency, source of reference. The results of such common knowledge of amount, kind and incidence of work is all to the good and in the direction of rationally controlled joint service.

VI. RESULTS

The East Harlem Health Center has had a noticeable influence on the health of the district, and in the district the decrease in mortality has been quite definitely accelerated. In the whole City the general death rate decreased for the period in question 20 per cent, in East Harlem 23 per cent. The reduction in pulmonary tuberculosis deaths is 22.2 per cent for 1921; 30.4 per cent for 1922 and 38.6 per cent for 1923, whereas for the City the rate of reduction in 1921 was 35 per cent, in 1922 was 36.4 per cent, and for 1923 was 37.5 per cent. The number of tuberculosis cases attending clinics in New York City averages 12 per cent of all the known cases; in the East Harlem district

the proportion now under clinic care is 13 per cent. Likewise infant mortality per 1000 births shows a greater decrease in East Harlem for three years than for the City as a whole.

To establish and operate the East Harlem Health Center through eight months of organization effort and three years of operation cost \$174,428.89, of which \$86,936.30 was capital expenditure and promotion. It cost \$29,164 per year to operate, an addition of 27 cents per capita to the district's former expenditures for health work. Rent for the fourth year will be borne by the agencies and the cost of the Center to operate annually will be about \$15,000. Expenditures annually for health have increased in the district from \$190,000 to \$300,000, only \$29,000 of which was spent by the Red Cross, a per capita increase from \$1.70 to \$2.79, or 34 per cent. The Director estimates the increase in number and values of service at more than 100 per cent.

The Center has demonstrated the need of a system of district health centers in New York, according to Bailey B. Burritt, General Director of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. According to him "it is only when service can be focused upon a space which is not too large that its roots sink deep enough to get successful results." It has succeeded "in getting the different agencies of the section to think in terms of a community plan instead of in terms of from

thirty to forty relatively unrelated plans." "Finally, says Mr. Burritt, "not only does work become more intensive, not only is it more related, not only is more emphasis put upon prevention, but on these very accounts the quality of work reaches a higher level."

The Director, Mr. Kenneth D. Widemer, in answer to questions, summed up the effect on the community: (1) stimulation of interest of the leaders in the community of its health problems, the settlement leaders, school principals, district superintendent of schools, business men, bankers; (2) reversal of attitude on the part of the local doctor from one of suspicion and fear of health service to one of active support; (3) a much more vital relation of the community to certain city wide agencies and to more than one national agency which through the Center came immediately and effectively into touch with the residents (the Director terms the effort departmentalizing the Center in order to give each specialized city-wide agency an opportunity to administer its function); (4) distinct progress in bringing together the experienced worker in public employ and the highly trained worker in private agency through association in projects within the Center; (5) foundation laid for a more comprehensive neighborhood association in which the neighbors will have more initiative and control and in which the Center will take its place as a constituent part.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

CLARENCE E. NICKLE

THE NEED OF RATIONAL COMMUNITY CONTROL

THROUGHOUT the country we hear the complaint of the over organization of the forces of com-

munity life, not so much politically and commercially as socially, educationally and religiously. Women's clubs, community clubs, service clubs, parent-teacher associations, teacher's federations, boy scouts, camp fire girls, Knights of Colum-

bus, young men's and young women's Christian associations, commercial clubs, civic organizations, library associations, community hospitals, lodges for both men and women, churches and schools of various denominations, with many internally organized groups, and other organizations too numerous to mention are usually found in any fair sized city, each existing independently and each with a horizon of service to the community that often overlaps extensively the functioning of other institutions. Each has some good for the community, it is true, and each contributes to the volume of social action; but too often many groups are drafting on the time and energies of the same leaders of society who soon discover that they have more community responsibility than they wish to carry, and retire from active public service. In such retirement, community capital ceases to bear interest.

The goal and the direction in which many of these institutions drive are often the same. The keen competition of the individual in the commercial world and the struggle for existence in the biological world are therefore being paralleled by a drive of these organized groups for recognition in modern communities. As a consequence, jealousy arises and conflicts result.

As in industrial progress, concentration and integration of industries have given rise to a need of a greater supervision by the state, so society is beginning to sense in no uncertain way the growing momentum of combinations of individuals and the expanding functions of many social organizations. At the time of its inception, a group of individuals forming a community organization has felt a real need for a new synthesis of social forces. But as the new organization has fulfilled that need, it has taken on the functions of

other groups; and inadvertently for the sake of perpetuity and a wider recognition it has proceeded in accumulating power; and too often, in its forward march, it has overlooked the integrity of a worthy but unsuspecting fellow institution. Some supervision that will function to harmonize the procedure of important social agents and save to society many valuable personal services and institutions which are being greatly dwarfed or totally lost in present day social confusion seems imperative. Not more organization but some superorganization with adequate supervisory power is the apparent demand of modern communities. In the supervision of social life, we need not so much control by the forces of state (they are too adamant), but we do need that of an adjustable influence that can be adapted to the changing activities of society, and yet be sufficiently firm to prevent social vandalism.

Men and women, leaders of society because of services willingly and effectively rendered, occasionally find themselves, as individuals, obliged to pass summarily upon questions of momentous significance to a community. A mayor of a city must take a stand on a social problem involving his office. He must discriminate against one of two factions of his constituency and thereby endanger the duration of his usefulness to the people. A superintendent of schools must decide adversely to a large group of citizens to defend his public system or to advance its welfare. For want of adequate authority, a secretary of a chamber of commerce must show indifference to many valuable proposals for community welfare from within as well as from without the city, and he thereby opens his office to criticism of the misinformed or impatient friends of a community agency. On the other hand, numerous illustrations can be given

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wherein leaders have assumed to advance the higher life of a community because of their advantageous positions. As individuals, they have accepted the responsibility of sponsoring projects when group action seemed impossible, and have afterwards discovered to their regret that he who would serve his fellows in a larger way generally works alone or with a weak support, and runs the risk of sore criticism from his neighbor because of an unusual but necessary display of self initiative and aggressiveness. So weak is human nature and so often are envy and jealousy unjustly conceived and disastrously opposed to community progress.

Most communities are in social ruts. Many taboos are so firmly imbedded in the traditions of leaders, and traditions are so generally accepted as truths, that rational thinking has no opportunity even to smooth or grade, to say nothing of paving the way of progress. "The people" have tried and failed. The erstwhile leaders of the classes are awaiting some social earthquake to establish the necessity of a new order, or for some headstrong citizen to inherit his cherished way of satisfaction in another world. Yet in every community we hear that "our town is a good one to live in and to raise children in." (All contrary minded have stayed away, have moved out, or have kept their peace.) In these communities, certain political, economic, or social leaders are accepted by the masses, having gained such class distinction through superior intelligence, inheritance, or by a long period of service in some semi-public capacity. Here and there are self-selected groups meeting from time to time for recreational purposes. The "bunches" or "gangs" of childhood have grown old without becoming conscious of the transition. New cliques have been formed by integration of new members

of the community who have not been readily absorbed by other groups. Institutions have sprung up organized for various purposes. Their aims may be well defined in a constitution or other fundamental order of procedure but none of them are adhered to specifically or with any great degree of reverence. Some of these institutions have performed functions as the needs of the time seem to dictate without regard to the original concept of organization. Some of them have forgotten the importance of functioning altogether and are adhering rigidly to their form of ritual which may have been handed down from generation to generation for decades past. Things rational exist, it is true, but mostly in the realm of commercial and civic life. In the latter, largely only in so far as the civic consciousness may be aroused by economic danger or by the recreation idea that may be existing in politics. Religious groups loom large in the minds of the pastor and people but they are small in the churches. Intelligent and good men are prominent in the business life of the city as well as in the civic, recreational and social life of the community but, often, they, as well as church men and educators, are likely to forget some of their cherished virtues when drawn into the firing line of community progress. As among primitive peoples, myths, fables, proverbs, and maxims influence thought, so do they here. But unlike conditions among primitive folks, philosophies of life are multitudinous. Principles of ethics have grown up with individuals more often than through common educational processes, yet the church and school have established certain norms of ethics accepted by the masses as permanent and undefilable. Two types of ethical procedure are outstanding among the leaders of the classes: that which conforms to

universal standards of conduct handed down through religious concepts, and that which leads to success in some particular direction and which is acquired through practice in social, political, and commercial living. The former may be forgotten with impunity when the latter comes into service.

Such are some of the conditions of the "mores" as Dr. Sumner chooses to name these traits controlling individuals and institutions in communities of which public servants must become aware.

RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY COÖRDINATION

The solution of the problem of progress of social life has become largely a responsibility of education; not education of children of public schools alone but also the necessary education of the adulthood of communities. We recognize that while the former is the least direct, it is the most effective approach to the latter. But adulthood controls the schools and adulthood is filled with traditions of the past. How shall the adulthood of one generation be controlled while that of an oncoming generation is being prepared with an adequate, progressive social education? The modern school superintendent is confronted with this enigma.

As typical of problems confronting any community leader or any community organization, let us consider carefully the program of education, its community relations, its responsibility, its dangers, and a hope for its success.

In the American program of education, the school is a part of a rapidly changing community and often a very large part, not only the center but the core and often much of the meat. Dr. Bobbitt says that the "education of the schools is only supplementary education; real education is living the life of the community." For a

school to ignore or avoid its community function is to fail in its real purpose. The head of the school is duty bound not only to recognize community conditions, but also, in so far as he may be able, to so modify them that the school may grow and that the folkways of the future may contribute greater satisfaction than those of the present can possibly do under the new and diversified ideas of the next generation. The real educator will sacrifice personal ambition to leave such a mark of progress upon a community. What assistance may he marshal to meet this precarious and momentous task?

Modern community conditions expose the public schools. Since the disintegration of education has been largely wrought in the home by divorce proceedings and outside employment of women, and since the church as a social center has lost much of its earlier prestige in the community due largely to its division into small groups, the public school has become the only institution, outside of the state, constantly maintaining a universal, social contact. Here the interests of all the people center. It is the focus of both child and adult life. To its doors come representatives of practically all homes of the community.

The responsibility of the schools as a community agent has reached enormous proportions. In its social prestige there is danger of assumption of too great an administration of community affairs. However, under present social conditions, unless the school becomes the leading institution of the community and actually leads, it will doubtless be subject to the dominating influences of other institutions, individuals, or groups of people about it. Many individuals or groups covet an opportunity to reach the public at large in the most direct manner which the school affords. Numerous illustra-

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The dangers to the public school are many. It has often been the victim of the designs of individuals and leaders of classes who have been actively controlling while the masses have been quietly acquiescing because of the innate characteristics of this great central body, "the people;" this body which Sumner characterized in his "Folkways" as "never organizing independently and never exercising political power;" "that clings to persons, loves anecdotes, is fond of light emotions and prides itself on its morality;" this body "that could rule if it would but is always neutral in the face of the changing policies of society." Organizations of men who are often self elected to membership in their group, through personal influence or vested interests, become strong to control some especially advantageous functions of the entire community when no other institution exists which equals in strength that of the special interest. This method of exploitation of public institutions by working ostensibly in the interests of the people, whether the exploitation is consciously or unconsciously administered as such, is as natural among the organizations of society as the death grip is in the survival of the fittest in the biological field.

There is further danger to the schools in the profligacy of man. Although, for some time, people, as individuals, have learned to survive the death dealing competition of their fellow beings through love, coöperation, toleration, and organized civic forces, these forces are not so much felt in organized social life. As an individual, man will recognize the rights of others and be merciful, but as a member of an institution or a group, which he often conceives as having no conscience, he is likely to forget his importance as an

exponent of ethical practices. Witness the disciple of the Nazarene in wars of the nations; the Puritan taking possession of the land of the Indians; or the professor of ethics in the conflicts of educational institutions. Through such procedure, the public school has often been retarded in its progress or openly exploited by a few profligate leaders in the presence of the unorganized masses of which the leaders conceive themselves a fundamental part. As Dr. Sumner observes "the critical questions in regard to the masses is which part will move the whole of it." Without administration of social groups and institutions, exploitation of many public social agencies will continue with increasing disasters to social progress.

A THREE YEAR DEMONSTRATION OF GENERAL COÖPERATION

The hope of success of the public schools as of any other community agency is found in an adequate general community supervision. People will tolerate and coöperate for the welfare of the whole. This gives promise of some type of superorganization that may make possible evolution of more desirable community rituals and elimination of "mores" which retard progress. Such an administration was undertaken at Madison, South Dakota, in the fall of 1920. Its success is worthy of careful consideration. For three years it influenced the life of that city of 5000 people, sometimes with greater results than at others to be sure, always with some general respect for its existence and with a definite contribution to the harmony and success of institutions and to the general welfare of the city.

Madison had just passed through the war period. The social welfare worker had survived from the prosperity of former times. The Red Cross nurse had been transformed into a county nurse

since the flu-days of the war. The Young Men's Christian Association and boy scout leaders, combined in one person, were new on the field, and were supported from the method of assignment of quotas to individuals or institutions which prevailed at that time. But the social institutions of the city were either weak or dormant. The chautauqua association of the Lake Madison summer resort was disintegrating. Dissentions among pastors of churches during previous years had made a city ministerial association practically impossible. The Merchant's Bureau supplying the need of a commercial organization was actively keeping the banks well filled with deposits, the influx of cash being largely the returns from trade with surrounding towns and the country folks. The commercial club was composed largely of retired farmers content with the increase in values of farm lands, which the war had given them. An attempt by the mayor of the town to solve community problems coming to his office by organization of a Chamber of Commerce, failed, largely, as the people said, because the retired farmers wanted to keep the commercial club rooms as a place to play pinochle and billiards rather than as a place to boost the town. It was noticeable that there were conflicting mores which gave real problems to the few leaders of community life. No parochial schools had been established although there were strong Catholic and Norwegian Lutheran elements in the community. In the public school system, a new high school, with a community auditorium, gave promise of possibilities, but grade schools were not so well developed.

The State Normal school had just lost its president by death and a new president had been elected. The Presbyterian minister, a young man of army experience and

a lover of boys, had just accepted his new parish. The Methodist Episcopal church had hired, as its new pastor, an educated community worker. The American Baptist church had recently filled its pulpit with an experienced Doctor of Divinity. The public schools had emerged from influences of the war times with a firm conviction in its board of education that better salaries should be paid to bring better teachers. They advanced the salary of the superintendent to attract a well educated and experienced man. It was not surprising that with these and other similar unusual conditions the attitude of the people was favorable for acceptance of ideas of new leaders, nor was it surprising that the class leaders, according to the existing mores, would unite readily to support a new order of community life.

Out of such conditions, through the combination of practically all leaders in the community, a constitution was prepared to perfect a general community organization for the purpose of "advancing and harmonizing community life and interests." Initial steps were taken by the superintendent of schools who visited various leaders of representative institutions and invited them to gather at the high school for consideration of community welfare. A list of about forty organizations within the community was prepared and members of these institutions were invited as individuals to be present when a constitution would be adopted. A slight deviation from the traditional path was taken in securing representatives from institutions at the beginning, but the mores of "proper" representation was finally recognized when all institutions met formally and named their two representatives to the council. The president of the state normal school, the catholic priest, and the superintendent of city schools composed the committee to draft

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the constitution which was adopted with very little alteration.

Although this invitation to special members of institutions or the mere matter of urge by those interested, bothered citizens for a time because of the belief that an exclusive class hoped to control the affairs of the city, in time, as the idea of democracy within the conception of the council spread, very little opposition existed. The new form of community control was soon disseminated throughout the state. Twenty-five copies of the constitution were sent out by the secretary at request of outside community groups. The stimulus of interest from without added to the permanency of interest within.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION

The salient features of the Madison constitution were: (1) its representative idea, each institution being privileged to send two representatives to each monthly meeting; (2) its dues were fixed at one dollar per member; (3) its roll call was by institutions and not by members (this was finally changed to members because of the usual custom or desire of having names mentioned); (4) its executive council, which was composed of the four executive officers and nine chairmen of standing committees, and in which all vital questions were to be discussed before extensive consideration in open council; (5) its officers covering the usual executive function were elected annually in September; (6) its repertoire of nine committees, religious, educational, social, child-welfare, civic, economic, benevolent, publicity and vigilance, covered all phases of community functioning with a chairman, some prominent community leader, in charge and with duties carefully defined; (7) its provision for recess during summer months; (8) other minor features which were in-

tended to make possible the perpetuation of the council were included in the constitution.

The high school, as a community center, was used on all occasions. The attendance at meetings usually ranged from 30 to 70 people. Visitors were allowed and at some regular meetings a large number appeared. All meetings were open to the public at large excepting by special provision of the executive council which presumably sat in closed session.

Thirty-six institutions of the city became definitely and formally allied in this coöperative body. There were eight churches, including all protestant and catholic, four lodges, four parent-teacher associations, two school systems (normal and public schools), city teachers federation, the American Legion, two commercial organizations, health commissioners, city library association, Young Men's Christian Association, community club, boy scouts, woman's club, city band, Madison building and loan association, Madison community hospital, baseball association, Lake County Farm Bureau, Woman's Relief Corps, Grand Army of the Republic, chautauque association, and the Kiwanis club.

Early in the proceedings of the council, coöperation was defined as follows: "Cooperation means to so conduct one's self that others may work with one." This idea was adopted formally as guide towards harmony between institutions. There was ample evidence that it became a real factor in the silent control of the community.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COUNCIL

The undertakings of the council during the three years were many and varied. It is probably true that more was accomplished that did not require formal action of the entire council and thus did not

appear in the minutes than that which was so considered. The actions of many leaders manifested impatience as the effects of the council became noticeable but loyalty to the new organization was maintained. The silent influence of an effective watchful body in a community is often recognized even by its most severe critics. The minutes of the three years of the council show evidence of many conflicts of ideas, formal actions, and definite results. Almost the entire category of community activities was brought into the limelight. We shall notice a few of the projects undertaken in particular.

Two or three times each year the general council presented public programs in the high school community auditorium. These programs usually consisted of lectures of community nature, of debates on some community problem, or of entertainments and band concerts.

Baseball on Sunday afternoon met with its pros and cons. State laws to govern it were on the statute books more clearly than in the mind of baseball managers. These laws were discussed by the council and given most careful consideration by baseball association. Members of the council contributed to the financial welfare of the association and the association respected the opinion of the council.

The problem of securing funds to maintain the social worker, the nurse, the secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the boy scout leader came up early in the first year. It was decided that the council did not presume to undertake the program of any organization but would contribute services towards its success. The financial policy was herein determined to be that of non-participation in aid to any organization except to so direct community forces as to enhance the cause of worthy and wholly community projects.

The development of maintenance of the boy scout movement, through assistance of the council, was a distinct credit to the community organization. Churches and schools coöperated with personal services and material equipment to perfect and maintain throughout the existence of the council an active and successful boyscout program.

The committee on religion made and maintained an extensive survey of all families of the community, a committee of thirty members canvassing every home. Contrary to the expectations of many, the data, kept in the office of the secretary, was used by many public servants. Through the work of this committee the numbers attending church and church schools was reported, and special "everybody go to church school" days were successfully conducted.

In most communities there is considerable talk about young folks. So was it here. But unlike most communities, Madison did many things for them. The curfew had been sounding every evening at nine, a survival of former days of high social ideals for the young people. The police department of the city maintained the appearance of a well meaning and and well regulated force. In fact few cities could boast of a better morale. Yet, mores were working as elsewhere for satisfaction of desires taboo in well regulated societies. By using talents of young people for entertainment purposes, by introducing speakers on social problems, and by publicity of higher social ideals, the council promoted a more careful oversight of moral conduct among probable social offenders.

The publicity committee maintained a schedule of future public events in the daily papers. The public library kept the needs of the use of the library before the people, and story telling programs were planned and executed. The com-

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munity lyceum course thrived under co-operation of the normal school and the public high school student council, a special committee of the community organization determining the content of the course. The new Madison community hospital contributed of its rich experiences and profited through a greater knowledge of the people as to the importance of the hospital and its methods of service.

The problem of movies within the community was never solved by the council. The manager of the movie looked upon the council more as an enemy than an ally. He stated early in the movement that he was afraid of what it would do to his business. However, the vigilance maintained did serve to develop a co-operative community spirit in the movie management. The Fatty Arbuckle episode received a strong protest from the council, and Mr. Hayes was kept informed of the opinion of the Madison people on good movies.

The charity work of the city was ably handled by a lady of the Catholic Church who acted as chairman of the benevolent committee. Through a general co-operative movement within the council the work which she had been ably fostering for a period of years was materially enhanced. Her reports were always promptly and fully given. She recognized assistance so freely offered. It is needless to say that gifts to the poor were justly and carefully distributed and many without sufficient means of sustenance were supplied with work.

The public schools profited by the organization of a parent-teacher association in every school building in the city which, through co-operation within the community council, led directly to a greater knowledge of the weakness of the schools and to immediate steps on the

part of a co-operative board of education to improve them. The capacity of each grade building was doubled; community and play rooms were constructed in each district, and an entirely new modern building was voted for one section of the city. Through knowledge of the public school disseminated by the council, a state wide reputation for good schools was established.

The State Normal contributed much towards the success of the council, the faculty being well represented on its committees. As it served much, it profited much. The welfare of the student body was constantly before the council and the edification secured through community lectures and entertainments contributed to the success of the state institution.

The assistance given to the Near East Relief well illustrates the effectiveness of the Madison method of community accomplishment. The state representative of this organization appeared before the council for fifteen minutes of education of members as to his cause. Within five minutes the matter was referred to the economic committee with instruction to all institutions to report their gifts to its chairman. At the following meeting, more than 900 dollars were reported as contributed by the various organizations of the council. Each organization, according to its desires, reported to any other organized group, of which it was an integral part, such gifts as had been given through the community council. During the second year, the council assisted in sending four car loads of corn from Lake County to Europe, under a similar procedure. Lieutenant Wayland Brooks, the relief worker of South Dakota, expressed his appreciation of this community service in the following manner: "In every town I find additional hardships

and new methods. I have not, however, found in any town an organization capable of competing with the community council in Madison. The more I study the lay-out of it, the more I am convinced of its wonderful possibilities."

The following minutes of a meeting of the council which reported the results of a "community week" is suggestive of community possibilities under the Madison constitution.

The committee on economics reported about \$800 collected for Near East Relief which sum was used for purchase of corn which made four cars of corn sent out of Lake County. It was also reported by the chairman of the welfare committee that fifty-one individuals were examined at the tuberculosis clinic at the hospital and that the clinic proved to be valuable to the community.

The civic committee reported the community week quite a success. Community sermons were preached on Sunday evening by pastors of churches. Doane Robinson, the state librarian, gave a talk to pupils of the high school Monday afternoon on the last stand of the Sioux, and a talk to the citizens in the evening on the development of the northwest. The municipal band played a prelude to these talks. On Wednesday evening, Governor McMasters spoke to a large audience of citizens in the assembly room of the high school on civic questions. A patriotic playlet by the children of the Washington School served as a prelude. On Thursday evening the nurses of the hospital gave an instructive demonstration of the nurse's work to a large congregation of people in the normal gymnasium. The municipal band furnished the prelude. On Friday evening, basketball by the boys and volleyball by the men were enjoyed at the normal gymnasium. The civic committee also reported success in having the depot cleaned and reported that the railroad company showed interest in improvement.

The benevolent committee reported fourteen families as having been helped with coal and food, and five men without families. Employment had been secured for six women.

The Social Committee reported a movement in the American Legion Auxiliary for the education of foreigners which the council felt disposed to assist in any way possible.

Moved and carried that the roll call be dispensed with and the American Legion Auxiliary No. 25 be admitted to the council.

A bill for \$20.50 was allowed for expense of the community week speaker.

Mr. Thomas Wadden, president of the Lake County National Bank and chairman of the economic committee, gave a very interesting and valuable talk on bank reserves.

The meeting adjourned and the community council attended the firemen's play in a body.

Space will not permit more illustrations of the council's methods and accomplishments. Many more could be presented. Probably the few outstanding merits of such community procedure are found in its conception as a clearing house of ideas; its ability to form and maintain desirable public opinion; its correlation of working forces; and its efficiency in dissemination of valuable community knowledge. Each representative was asked to report the work of the council at a subsequent meeting of his organization that the masses of the people might know the opinions of their representative leaders and that a spirit of practical democracy might prevail.

As the advent of new leaders made possible the growth of the council, so an exit of these leaders, after its third year, reduced its possibilities. It operated the fourth year in the management of the Lyceum Course, but the writer is not aware of further action having been undertaken. For reasons needless to relate, during the third year, a few strong leaders of the city resorted to the old order of small group action. A rule of vested interests began to grow and the effort to keep masses informed for community harmony and welfare declined. The type of influence that tended to reduce the council in Madison is found in very few cities.

An organization such as the Madison Community Council is a safe and sane procedure for communities of middle class cities. Experimentation in such procedure will doubtless advance the cause of

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democracy in community life. Governor Allen of Kansas, and many other prominent people who visited Madison during the three years of its community control, have corroborated this view. The governor paid his compliments to the new organization in the following terms:

It has been a pleasure to read the enclosed constitution. The direct and simple manner in which it provides for the correlation of the best forces in the community is its great merit. Unrelated men, no matter how worthy their object, cannot accomplish much in community life, but when you can knit them together as you have done under this very sensible constitution, it ought to mean much for the same development of the better ideals of community life.

Every community will have its own mores which will require special consideration, and every community will have its own problems which will require its own type of organization and administration. While the Madison Community Council has ceased to exist, it could have been adjusted to a new environment under careful leaders who were interested

in maintaining a democracy of community control. As in all institutions of man, the functioning of any community council will depend upon the conceptions of its leaders, and leaders it must have.

After all is said and tried, we are still of the conclusion that a super organization of a community to control group action and conflicting institutions is possible but it will be dependent upon class leadership. The masses will not rule. This experiment in Madison will contribute to knowledge of community problems. It will present many suggestions and, doubtless, many mistakes to others who may wish to study its history and profit thereby.

There is so much of school and church in all institutions of a community that both of these types of organization, as well as any other worthy community agent, will enjoy a material advancement of their purposes and ideals on such a common ground of action as an organization of the type of the Madison Community Council affords.

THE ICELANDIC COMMUNITY IN NORTH DAKOTA ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PERIOD 1878-1925¹

THORSTINA JACKSON

PEMBINA County, North Dakota, the cradle of permanent white settlements in the State, was the place to which the Icelanders flocked between 1878 and 1890. Few came straight from

Iceland. The majority of the earliest pioneers had been from three to five years in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nova Scotia and "New Iceland," the colony on the

¹ *Editor's note:* This sketch of the economic and social developments in the foremost Icelandic community of America is intended to give an idea of the unity of association and communal accomplishment of the early years, together with a little appreciation of the changes that come about in community life and institutions with changing conditions in the larger world, and the gradual establishment of relations between the smaller and larger units, relations

that break into and modify the racial, social, and economic solidarity of the community. Vilhjalmur Stefansson says of Miss Jackson's forthcoming book on Icelandic colonies in North Dakota: "The importance of Miss Jackson's work will be greatest for historians and sociologists who can hereafter use it as one of the corner stones for a general pioneer history of North Dakota, and as material on which to base sociological conclusions with regard to pioneer life."

shores of Lake Winnipeg. Dissatisfied with former localities, Pembina County with its hills, rivers, forest belts and grassy plains appealed to them. They were especially attracted by the Pembina mountains. Low though they were, they gave a touch of the homeland and those who came from "New Iceland" found them a relief after the marshes of Lake Winnipeg.

The background of the colonists was that of a country where there were no extremes in poverty or wealth, and only two main avenues of gaining a living—

were very primitive; the homesteaders were hampered by the lack of horses, oxen, farm implements, etc.; at first there was possibly one horse or ox to every five to ten farmers. Work was done by a system of exchange; some of those who lacked the necessities of working the land walked two hundred miles to a more settled locality and worked there for \$1.00 or \$1.50 per day while the stay-at-homes did the best they could to serve the community with their limited equipment. During the early years the average home did not have more than \$100 per year



live-stock and farming on a small scale, and fishing, the latter far more important but no source of wealth. Agriculture of the Red River Valley calibre was unknown in Iceland, but most of the settlers were young, thrifty and industrious and it is safe to say there was not an illiterate among them. Many were unusually well versed in the Icelandic classics.

ERA OF ECONOMIC STRUGGLE (1878-1890)

Cultivation of the soil did not really begin until 1880, and the initial efforts

to spend on the necessities of life. The pioneer women spun and knit unceasingly, and made shoes of sheepskin of the same kind as were common in Iceland. They also did all the family sewing, including the men's suits. Ready-made clothing that was offered in this frontier settlement was expensive and of a very poor quality. To quote one of the pioneer women, "it took a stretch of imagination to realize that it was wearing apparel." Some of the housewives were more skilled tailoresses than others and did much out-

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side of their homes and received some other services in return. Frequently a young matron increased the family budget by leaving her home in charge of an elderly relative and going to the city of Winnipeg, a distance of about 100 miles, and working for some months.

The market for everything that the farmer produced at the time was low; eggs were from 5 to 7 cents a dozen, butter 12 to 15 cents per pound, wheat from 30 to 50 cents a bushel. Many a farmer hauled a cord of wood 20 to 30 miles and brought back a pail of syrup or 50 pounds of flour.

At the end of this period many of the settlers were heavily in debt, incurred chiefly to buy farm implements, live stock, build tolerable shelters, etc. Unfortunately, they were often taken advantage of by unscrupulous speculators of other nationalities; one of that tribe is especially remembered. For more than ten years he was the colony's money bag, but those who had the misfortune to dip into the bag generally burnt themselves. He sold a team of horses or mules for \$400 or \$500 and also handled farm machinery, lent money, etc., and in return he exacted heavy security. It is on record that many a farmer forfeited his homestead for a binder, one lost his farm for a pony. The economic condition of the colony at the end of the first twelve years left a great deal to be desired; many owed more than they really possessed, but the ice had been broken and some valuable lessons had been learned. Most of the settlers had mastered English sufficiently to conduct their business, and the future looked hopeful.

Early Organization Efforts and Social Life

The church. The first social agency to function in the settlement was the church. The resident minister, Rev. Pall Thorlak-

son, a graduate of an American university and an exceptional leader, organized the first congregation when the settlement was two years old. After twelve years the colony numbered seven congregations and five churches. The initial steps in organizing the Icelandic Lutheran Synod, a federation of all the Icelandic churches in America, were taken in North Dakota the winter of 1884-1895. The originator of the idea was a young minister in one of the Dakota communities, Rev. H. B. Thorgrimson. The Synod has been by far the most important social agency among the Icelanders on this side of the Atlantic.

The school. Schools were in operation at the end of the third year. At first instruction was chiefly given in private houses, and when sudden storms arose during the winter season, it was necessary for the ones who turned their homes into a school, to shelter the young children over night. The settlers were especially fortunate in having many excellent teachers during the first years, notable among them were two theological students—Niels S. Thorlakson and Frederick J. Bergmann, who were graduates of Luther College Decorah, Iowa, and who had also studied in Philadelphia and other cities in the East. They had as pupils many who have since distinguished themselves along various lines.

Circulating libraries were organized early and in 1889 there were six in the colony. The books were mainly Icelandic.

In 1888 a Society for the Promotion of Cultural Advancement was organized. Its object was to encourage independent thinking along religious and educational lines. It was the first open break from the established Lutheran Church, and later many of its members became the pillars of Icelandic Unitarianism. The

society built up an excellent library, launched debates, lectures, etc. It did not function for a long time because many of the leaders moved away, but it was a wholesome intellectual stimulus.

Recreation. A certain spirit of exuberance and the pure joy of living was characteristic of this period. At first entertainments were in private houses, and they were enlivened by speeches, songs, and frequently original poetry. In fact the Muse of Poetry seemed to run rampant in the settlement. It was not uncommon for a settler wending his lonely way home from market at eventide to find a long poem about himself attached to a tree by the roadside. The writer has read a number of these lays, and while they can scarcely be classed as American-Icelandic Eddas, they are never-the-less brimful of originality and subtle humor.

One of the first public gatherings was a 4th of July celebration in 1880. Rev. Thorlakson was the speaker. He explained the significance of the day and outlined briefly the history of the American Republic. The 4th of July celebrations of this early period were carefully planned; the pioneers would have considered it almost a sacrilege to open up the day's entertainment without reading the Declaration of Independence. The best English scholar in the community was chosen to perform this task, and the colonists listened enraptured. Many of them did not understand it as read, but the nucleus of its message was clear to all. There were also a number of speakers and the alpha and omega of their speeches was to relate the American Republic to the one established in Iceland in the 10th century, and they dwelt on the good fortune of the pioneers, who now had the opportunity to become members of a political organization of the same kind as founded by their ancestors. American

national heroes were soon adopted in the colony, and cheap prints of Washington, Franklin and Lincoln adorned the walls of the pioneer cabins.

A number of Icelandic plays were produced in this period and dancing was a common amusement. There was generally some one in each neighborhood who could play a violin, harmonica, or a mouth organ and this enabled the young folks to "trip the light fantastic." Icelandic wrestling was a common feat and a number were very able exponents of that national sport.

Public affairs. County organization did not take place in Pembina County until 1882, and the Icelandic settlers were active in bringing it about, and held a number of the first county offices. An Iclander was a member of the State territorial Legislature of 1888, as well as the following year when North Dakota became a State. In general the colonists adopted at first the political faith of their Scandinavian relatives, which was chiefly Republican.

THE ERA OF PROGRESS (1890-1913)

Increased production was the aim and object of everybody at the opening of this epoch. Radical changes were introduced, horses replaced oxen, and these in turn were shelved to make room for the automobile, gas engines and the most modern equipment for farming. Many of the finest farm houses were built during this time, some costing \$8000 to \$10,000. Forest belts disappeared and in their place some fertile fields, and on the whole the settlement went forward rapidly. Children who had been very young at the time of settlement were grown up and they played an important part in the general management, sometimes urging the parents against their better judgment to rather extravagant expenditures. However, the young

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people were on the whole hard workers and had endeavored to master modern farming. They grew up to be law abiding citizens like their parents, which is proven by the fact that during the forty-seven years that the Icelanders have been in North Dakota, not one of them has ever been involved in a criminal case.

Towards the end of this period everything produced was increasing in value, and the average farm was 320 acres. It was common for a farmer to have as many as 100 heads of cattle and other livestock in proportion. The average farm property, free from debt, was valued at about \$15,000, distributed in such a way that the poorest possessions were worth only a few hundred and the highest about \$40,000. The settlement had spread to the neighboring county of Cavalier, and there were small groups in three other counties. There was quite an exodus from the colony to Western Canada during this period, but that did not materially cripple the settlement.

Social life

The church gained considerably in importance as the years went by. There were two resident ministers and nine congregations, each owning a well equipped church.

The school

At the opening of the century, there were well set up school houses in all the communities. The teachers were for the most part Icelandic students from the University of North Dakota. Proportionally, a large number of pioneer children attended higher institutions of learning such as the State University and the Agricultural College at Fargo. About 1900 students at the University organized an Icelandic Society that still functions. Its aim is to attract attention to Icelandic

literature and to encourage young Icelanders to pursue higher education. The leading spirit in the organization of this society was Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the well-known explorer.

Recreation

In the early 90's a string band of some twenty members was formed in one of the communities and for many years it was a popular addition to all public gatherings. During the latter part of this epoch the carefully planned programs of the early days became less popular forms of entertainment. The automobile and increased prosperity had brought in its train a certain restlessness, and community life suffered accordingly. The spirit of unity that characterized the pioneer days seemed to be losing its grip.

The University students brought American sports into the settlements. Baseball and football teams were formed and competitive games became the order of the day.

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD (1914-1925)

The economic history of this period is pretty much the same in the Icelandic communities in North Dakota as elsewhere, a dizzying price for farm products and an equally dizzying cost of production. In common with others, many Icelandic farmers, particularly the younger ones, lost their sense of balance and started speculating in land, or were dazzled by all sorts of golden apples offered by traveling salesmen in the shape of bonds, shares in various concerns, etc. The entry of the United States into the war weakened the available laborers in the settlements, and at the same time there was a cry for increased production. All that caused the farmers to invest in expensive labor saving machinery at a great cost. The

desire for increased production led to the cultivation of the same ground year after year until it became sterile. People were ill prepared for the aftermath of the war when the market fell, and banks that had fairly pressed loans upon the farmers, demanded payment. Many had gone in beyond their depth and went down, but a larger number came through fairly well. The year 1924 was especially good and helped to restore the economic equilibrium.

Social life

Social agencies that were becoming somewhat disintegrated during the period immediately preceding the war were given a new lease on life by a common aim. Red Cross Chapters that were formed at the time are still functioning and Community Clubs are springing up in most of the communities. Icelandic is still the official language in the churches,

and Icelandic papers, periodicals and books are widely read.

Public affairs

Proportionately the North Dakota Icelanders have been active in public affairs. They have had 12 members in the State Legislature and have filled important offices such as Commissioner of Public Lands, Special Attorney General, Justice of the State Supreme Court, etc. They are now pretty equally divided between the different political parties.

Individuals and organizations are gradually losing their distinctive Icelandic identity but that does not mean that the efforts the pioneers made when they built up the various organizations whose object was to preserve their religion, language and culture, were lost but merely that the Icelandic inheritance is being gradually woven into the multicolored fabric of American life.

NOTES AND NEWS ON COMMUNITY INTERESTS

LEROY BOWMAN

COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS FORMED IN THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THE National Education Association at its annual meeting in Washington, July, 1924, abolished its Department of Wider Use of the School Plant. In place of it there was created in January, 1925, a Committee on Community Relations. The Chairman of the Committee is Dr. George E. Carrothers of the College of Education of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. The Secretary is Clarence A. Perry of the Recreation Department of the Russel Sage Foundation. The personnel of the Committee is

made up of city and county superintendents, state supervisors, professors in teachers colleges and normal schools, directors of extension activities in city school systems and principals and teachers from the high and elementary school, a total of 30 members representing all sections of the United States.

The Committee has held two meetings—one at Cincinnati in February, 1925, and a second at Indianapolis in July, 1925. At the latter meeting the Committee presented before the Representative Assembly of the N. E. A. the following set of resolutions. Because of their importance and to give the members more time for considering them, it was decided not to

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take final action upon them until the annual meeting in 1926.

(a) Whereas, progressive educational thought recognizes that participation in parent-teacher associations and other forms of community activity contributes to the smooth running of the school and to the teacher's ability to prepare pupils for future social and civic relations,

(b) Whereas, "wider-use" activities, whether physical, recreational or cultural, for both youth and adults, represents an important extension of the character developing influence of the school,

(c) Whereas, bringing parents, citizens and the public generally into direct use and enjoyment of school facilities contributes to a better understanding of, and a more generous community and financial support of, public education,

(d) Whereas, a school plant designed and equipped for community-use gives the school a better plant for its primary educational purpose,

(e) Whereas, wise administrative policy requires that all use by the community of school grounds, buildings and equipment be under the control and supervision of school officials, and

(f) Whereas, the professional development, the physical welfare, and spiritual needs of both principals and teachers require sufficient leisure to permit a reasonable pursuit of personal interests and avocations,

Therefore, be it resolved, that it is the sense of this body (1) that all public school governing boards should formulate a definite fact-based, community-use policy and make adequate provision for its practical realization, however modest the beginning in any school system may of necessity be,

(2) That the community-use department of public school system be staffed by persons having the qualifications required for their special duties,

(3) That all regular services and activities in the field of community relations be adequately budgeted at the same time and in connection with the annual budgeting of other school activities, and that a special appropriation be made to provide, so far as can be anticipated, for new community activities which may arise and become standardized during the fiscal year,

(4) That regular teachers may with advantage to the school and to themselves professionally take the initiative in the development of new community relations and give their services to such activities without remuneration during their formative period,

(5) That voluntary undertakings in the community-use field be stimulated by the dissemination of information concerning developments in other school

systems, and that these voluntary activities be encouraged by the notation upon service records of both principals and teachers of all definite community activities thus performed,

(6) That school administrators should neither demand or expect regular and continued out-of-school service from teachers in connection with community activities without compensation for the extra service performed.

COMMUNITY ENTERTAINMENT BY THE SEASON AT EL PASO, TEXAS

The Community Center recently established at El Paso, Texas, is making an experiment of ways in which to get attendance. They have listed some exceptionally fine entertainments and made them available for the members of the Center. The membership fee covers all the entertainments given during the year and amounts to a season ticket. By this means a good sized attendance is assured for each of the performances and a surprisingly high quality at moderate prices is the result. It has been found that the highest class poetry and music is attracting large crowds of interested members.

WISCONSIN BETTER CITIES CONTEST DRAWS TO SUCCESSFUL CLOSE

In the wind-up of the Better Cities Contest conducted by the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work under the leadership of Aubrey W. Williams, Executive Secretary, the following judges are officiating: For Public Administration, Luther Gulick, Ph.D., Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, and the National Institute of Public Administration; for Social Welfare, C. C. Carstens, Ph.D., Executive Director of the Child Welfare League of America; for Recreation, J. R. Batchelor, Field Director of the Playground and Recreation Association of America; for Library, Joseph L. Wheeler, Director of The Reuben McMillan Free Library of Youngstown, Ohio; for Health,

Dr. S. J. Crumbine, National Society of Hygiene; for Town and Country Relations, Nat T. Frame, Director of Agricultural Extension, West Virginia University; for City Planning, Myron D. Downs, City Planner for Toledo, for Education, W. S. Deffenbaugh, Chief of City School Division, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.; for Industry, Mr. Stewart Scrimshaw, Director of Industrial Relations, Kearney and Trecker.

A communication from Mr. Williams reads as follows:

We are asking each judge to write a summary for each city, these summaries to be given to the respective committees in each of the towns. It is our hope that these summaries will include the good as well as the bad, the weak as well as the strong points of these communities. Another interesting development is that the University Extension Division is to take these studies and, based upon the citizens' own statements of their need, seek to place at their disposal whatever the Extension Division has to offer in the way of community service, libraries, lecture courses, public administration data, etc.

The plan as adopted by the State-wide Committee was to send the various reports of the cities to the judges and to have them score such reports; then to have the groups come to Wisconsin and confer on the basis of the score they made of the reports selecting the five highest cities of those over 10,000 and the two highest of those under 10,000; next to visit the five highest cities of the group over 10,000 population, and the two highest in the group under 10,000 population. With the exception of the reports on Religion all other reports have gone to the judges. In almost every case the cities of the contest showed remarkable ingenuity and ability in the presentation of their reports. On every hand there have been exclamations of surprise and delight at the extraordinary manner in which these reports have been gotten up.

The cities taking part in the contest are: Appleton, Ashland, Chippewa Falls, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Janesville, Kenosha, Ladysmith, Oshkosh, Sheboygan, Sparta, Waukesha, Wauapun, and Wausau.

Subjects considered in the contest and their relative weightings are:

	Total Possible Score points
1. City Plan.....	295
2. Zoning.....	70
3. Traffic Conditions.....	130
4. Housing Conditions.....	160
5. Parks and Public Areas.....	100
6. Tourist Park.....	20
7. City Forestry and Street Trees....	100
8. Home Grounds.....	50
9. Billboards, etc.....	25
10. Cemeteries.....	50
Total.....	1000

MINNESOTA STATE CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

At the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work the section on community made a successful attempt to bring together the practical organizers and the teachers of social science. Settlement workers, Chamber of Commerce organizers, rural church center workers, sociologists from both the theoretical and the rural departments led in discussion. The place of the volunteer in social work was the first topic, followed by discussions of strategy and leadership in organizing, philosophy of community coordination and the responsibilities of social workers in community development. The discussions emphasized the need of objective criteria and the study of results that have been achieved in community work.

CHICAGO MAYOR COMES OUT FOR SCHOOL COMMUNITY CENTERS

Chicago's mayor has come out for community centers as one of the chief

issues of a civic nature. In speaking of the need of bringing music, literature, clean amusement, and art into the homes of the poor and the middle class, he made this statement in a speech on September 18:

And here we have over 300 public school houses standing dark and empty night after night when we could well afford to throw them open for such purposes. The hearts and minds of the children must be reached to guide them to a higher conception of the beautiful in life and away from those jazz productions. I have discussed these things innumerable times with different groups—today again with Prof. Graham H. Taylor and Allen Pond, and they heartily agree with me. I am firmly convinced that \$100,000 a year would defray all expenses and that sum ought easily be raised by private subscription.

Recently appointment has been made of a special supervisor to promote and oversee community center activities in Chi-

cago school buildings. Recommendation was made by Superintendent William McAndrew, and Miss Marie Merrill was appointed at a salary of \$3000 a year. Under provisions of the recommendation, school buildings may be opened for plays, programs and other community activities, not to exceed two nights each week during a period from October 1 to April 30, 1926, upon application to responsible citizens to the superintendent.

Last February ninth, a meeting was held in the Chicago City Club of community workers and civic leaders to discuss community center appropriation and the need of it. At that meeting a subcommittee was appointed which waited on the Board of Superintendents and Superintendent McAndrew.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

A little hamlet in the Sand Hill country of North Carolina, one hundred per cent American and one hundred years behind the times. Peaceful, contented, and hospitable at first view, it is filled with the ignorance and cruelty and disease that encompass the life of the still "forgotten man." In the great cities crime and vice are shouted abroad, but in the country they lurk behind tranquil or stolid human faces and amid natural beauty. Benjamin Harrison Chaffee tells with rare understanding in the October *Atlantic* the story of his years of teaching in this community, among the folk that he has come to call, in spite of their failings and lapses, "Mine Own People." Mentally and morally starved, they respond only after the greatest wrenchings of spirit to counsels of kindness or intelligence. Education alone can bring them to their better selves.

The polyglot boarding house that is New York's East Side contains, if only we took time to look at it, one of the most fascinating communities in the world. There is squalor, poverty, disease, and crime; but there is also a spirit of hope, hard work, and international good fellowship that could scarcely be duplicated elsewhere. In gayety and tone its streets reflect the proletarian quarters of Paris, Vienna, and Naples; at heart it is the America of the future, that will some day permeate and change the older America we are familiar with. The Great American Novel, if it is ever written, may well deal with this colorful community. Yet it is already passing, no longer recruited from the Old World and gradually merging into the life of the nation about it. This is "My Neighborhood" that Edward Corsi depicts, almost too idyllically, in the *Outlook* for September 16.

A spirited defense of the great city—badly enough needed these days—is supplied by Charles Downing Lay in the September *North American Review*. Statistics and experience prove that city folk are better off in health, opportunity, education, and things of the spirit than their country cousins. One can enjoy conveniences and luxuries without actually supporting them, can marry and get a fair start in life without capital, and can cultivate better the liberty of following one's own interests or hobbies. Our present schemes for controlling the city are awed by its mere bigness; they are restrictive and ameliorative perhaps, but seldom allow for the ideal development of many small self-contained units of population, contiguous to one another, in place of a single tremendous and unwieldy one. Above all, increasing leisure, the greatest of wealth, will allow for more real individuality, the goal of civilization. This is the ultimate "Freedom of the City."

Community organization may be approached through the history and mechanical details of its various institutions, through a close survey of its actual needs, or through a broad understanding, by means of community case records, of what has been done elsewhere under somewhat similar conditions. A striking example of this latter method is detailed by Walter W. Pettit in the *Survey* for September 1. . . . The necessity of compensation insurance paid by owners of automobiles to cover street accidents is shown by Steuart Chaplin in the August 15 issue. Ten or fifteen dollars assessed on each car would, he thinks, protect pedestrians and drivers, pay adequate benefits, and furnish a means of release from the nightmare of confusion, delay, and injustice

that accompanies lawsuits for injury of person or property.

A leading if unconventional question: "Should Marriage Be Monotonous?" Elton Mayo is of the opinion it should, that romantic love is a passing phase of adolescence, and that married life should form a sort of neutral background against which really important events are played. But our vicious emphasis on sex, combined with suppression of its true nature, has made happy marriages difficult among people who live in the large cities, and this half-knowledge, with the promiscuity and perversions that often flow from it, is apt to lead to mental disorder and baffled personalities. Marriage need not be boredom, but it should become a lasting condition of rest, understanding, and sympathy, in which the normal life of man and women may go on unhindered. His article appears in *Harper's* for September.

When is a parent not a parent? When he remains a child, replies Ernest R. Groves in the October *Harper's*. It is hard for us to grow up emotionally, and when lack of discipline, self-control, judgment, and responsibility are carried over into adult life our children suffer. We are slow to admit the need of scientific training for parenthood, the most difficult and delicate job in the world. Its ten commandments might be: don't show off your child; don't hurry him; don't punish him to relieve your feelings; don't let commends take the place of comradeship; don't lie to him; don't use fear as a whip; don't stress his weaknesses; don't tell him he can't reason; don't let the home crowd out his needs; don't be a tyrant. Those who commit these sins are "Parents Who Haven't Grown Up."

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CHURCH AND RELIGION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RELIGION AND RESEARCH

RALPH G. DEMAREE

SCHOLARSHIP has turned from a study of the ancient philosophies to a scientific investigation of fact. The research attitude is dominating every field of learning. The spirit of investigation has failed, in general, to meet with the approval of the church, and even in this day and time we find bitter opposition in many places where religionists fear that scientific research is undermining the foundations of faith.

Man is by nature not only religious but also habitually inquisitive. To create an alternative between the religious and inquisitive natures of man is not only artificial but also destructive. If research and faith are incompatible or even antagonistic the human intellect has a difficult problem to solve.

I

Perhaps the time will never come when the mysterious and unknown will lose their fascination for the mind of man. The history of progress is the story of man's investigations and discoveries. He is gradually discovering the laws of the physical universe, but only the most rash will assume that the discovery of the law is equivalent to its creation. Man is learning more and more about psychology and the social laws that govern mankind but man does not make the laws, he merely discovers them. The same thing is true of religion. Man is gradually discovering

God. Even though Jesus was the perfect revealer of the love of God, man has not yet fully learned to appreciate or use the facts of the revelation. Man has much to learn of physical and social science, and even more, perhaps, of religion. His discoveries have helped him improve his condition, while ignorance has invariably contributed to the misfortunes that have come upon him. As H. G. Wells says, "History is a race between catastrophe and education."

Many obstacles still stand in the way of future discovery and development. Inertia is a property of mind as well as of matter. Ideas are like plaster of paris. They are hard to change after they have set.

The instructor in a laboratory science tries to impress the student with the necessity of developing the scientific or research attitude. The experimenter must have faith that fearless investigation will substantiate truth and reveal mistakes in former conceptions. The purpose of scientific research is not the confirmation of theory but the discovery of law. If the experimenter follows the advice of Hugo of St. Victor who, in the twelfth century, said, "learn first what is to be believed," his experiment becomes a meaningless sham. Yet there is much that has been done in the name of research which consists in efforts to accumulate evidence in support of theories which have no con-

firmation in fact. History is overflowing with records of the pseudo-science, the result of pseudo-research, where all evidence which does not support the desired theory is quickly and, when possible, silently dismissed. For centuries man went to the Ancients for truth. During these ages the world not merely stood still; civilization actually went backward. All evidence which did not support ancient philosophy was quickly suppressed and all the world knows the fate of those investigators who failed to hold their tongues or did not succeed in making satisfactory reconciliation with inquisitorial authority.

II

The religious world is agitated to-day by a recrudescence of the war between dogmatic theology and science. "Fundamentalism" has declared "war to the death" against "Darwinism" or evolution or any scientific fact or theory which does not fit the mould of their theology. According to their point of view not only is the Bible an infallible document, the product of men infallibly inspired, but it has also been infallibly translated, and last, but not least in importance, the full interpretations of the meaning of all parts of the Bible have been infallibly deduced by the theologians. This is the major premise, the *sine qua non* of "Fundamentalism." Conformity to the infallible interpretation is the criterion of truth. Belief in the infallible interpretation is the standard of faith.

Does scientific research destroy faith? The answer to this question depends on the reasonableness of the faith in question. If the faith is a true faith it should find no difficulty in its encounter with the facts of human experience. If faith is in harmony with experience it is reasonable to assume its truth. If faith and experience are in conflict the mind is confronted with the

necessity of choosing between the two. Either faith must be revised or the testimony of the human senses refused credence.

Does experience mean anything? Is not experience "the progressive discovery of the nature of right and wrong"; the discovery of truth? Can experience be trusted? In the words of Glover, "If the universe is rational, the distinction between right and wrong must be clear, definite, reliable at last, however long the process of discovery." If the universe is a reasonable creation it is governed by law, and the discovery of the universal reign of law should lead men to faith in a reasonable creator. An intelligent faith is the only faith that can survive the investigations of intelligent people. A faith which depends on ignorance, on superstition, or even on credulity is becoming more and more unsatisfactory to people who are beginning to think for themselves. Fosdick says, "True religion never had a deadlier foe than superstition, and superstition has no deadlier foe than science." An intelligent faith cannot be superstitious; it must be based upon knowledge. What the world needs is an intelligent faith. Any faith which ignores facts can hardly be called intelligent.

III

The "Fundamentalists'" chain of infallibilities is not a new idea. It is as old as Christendom. Infallibility has been claimed from the earliest days, not only for the letter of scripture but also for the various interpretations which have been made. The "infallible interpretations" have been in bitter conflict with the discoveries of science from the very beginning and the warfare of dogmatic theology with scientific research continues to the present day. The history of this warfare would be highly entertaining were it not so pathetically tragic. It is the greatest

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monument ever erected to human superstition. It is entirely beyond the scope and purpose of this paper to attempt a recapitulation of the follies of human claims to infallible interpretation. Hundreds of volumes of history and apology have been written in explanation or defense of the scholastic philosophy. The position taken by the church has been defended with all the skill and subtlety of pedantic reasoning, and her retreats before the growth of scientific intelligence have been covered by a cloud of rhetoric and sophistry. The chief weapon of the doctrine of infallibility has been taken up by the "Fundamentalists." It can claim no higher title than a policy of obscurantism.

The arguments of "Fundamentalism" are in no important respect different from the arguments used in behalf of the mediaeval interpretations. The "Fundamentalists" are attempting to abolish the study of evolution. "It is contrary to the revealed word of God." The same argument was used against the Copernican theory. Even Martin Luther said, "Sacred Scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still and not the earth." Moreover to deny the infallibility of the "Fundamentalist" interpretation is to destroy the whole foundation of religion just as belief in the Newtonian theory "substituted gravitation for Providence." To deny the literal inspiration of the word of Scripture is to deny God, just as John Wesley said, "The giving up of witchcraft is in effect the giving up of the Bible."

The enthusiasm of the advocates of certain "infallible" interpretations has caused them to commit, in the name of Jesus, some of the most inexcusable atrocities. It is not necessary to recount the historical facts of the burning of witches, the opposition, in the name of Jesus, to vaccination which could have prevented the spread of pestilence and disease, or to mention the tortures of the inquisition.

We have our religionists to-day who refuse the aid of surgery and medicine not only for themselves but for their children who thus become innocent sufferers, martyrs to superstition. But this is not all. The war against any science which is not in harmony with "inspiration" is fought to-day as fiercely as ever; subject only to the limitations placed on persecution by a "Christian" civilization. Nor does it seem that logic, facts, or even "sweet reasonableness" is adequate defense for science, for the "infallible doctrines" are the products of inspiration and revelation, hence are immune from such opposition.

The advocates of infallibility, nevertheless, have not refused to defend their position with inductive reasoning. Realizing that the arguments of the inductive sciences have thrown doubt around the conclusions of the deductive theologians the latter have issued forth from the stronghold of infallibility and attacked the scientists in their own camp with their own weapons. And it has been a great fight, for while the "Fundamentalists" have been less skilled than the scientists in the ordinary use of the inductive weapons they have put them to new uses and initiated new rules of warfare. They have established experimental laboratories where evidence has been accumulated in sufficient quantity to overthrow the careful work of generations of scientists, trained in the experimental method. Books have been written in the last ten years which prove the age of the earth to be not over six or seven thousand years, and the method of proof is inductive! Species have been proved immutable. The basic principles of astronomy, physics, chemistry, geology and the biological sciences—principles established by generations of research and universally accepted by men of science—have suddenly been found to be in error, at least in so far as they are inharmonious with revelation.

In vain do the scientists point out that the rules of scientific research are violated. This is war. The purpose is not to test theory, but to establish it. A deductive syllogism may easily be converted into an inductive argument by interchanging the conclusion and the major premise and making a few adjustments—and infallibility has been proved infallible!

The "Fundamentalist" movement has received its strength, not from the validity of its logic, but from the loyalty and credulity of religionists who are uninformed in matters scientific. The enthusiasm of the "defenders of the faith" has endowed science with horns and tail, and the overtures of science are met with antipathy. The "faithful" are warned against "things that seem reasonable" and the talent of human intelligence is wrapped in a napkin and hid in the earth that the Lord may, upon his return, receive his own undefiled with earthly usury! The "Fundamentalist" leaders have left no doubt in the minds of their followers regarding the motives of science. They have made it a clear-cut issue between God and the devil, and you may be sure, "right or wrong," they are on God's side. It is another case of "*Gott mit uns*."

IV

The greatest obstacle in the path of spiritual growth to-day is the refusal of the church to develop. The present state of religion is not due, as so many believe, to a sudden epidemic of worldliness or pleasure-seeking but rather to the fact that the church has made little intelligent effort to meet the changing needs of a changing civilization.

During the last half century the spirit of scientific research has revolutionized practically every field of human thought except the field of religion. Religion has persistently refused the coöperation of scientific research with the result that

to-day it is fighting a losing fight against conditions which it does not know how to meet. If religion is really worth while the research attitude will discover and remove those things which are holding the church back and will enable religion to apply business methods to its task of world evangelization. The spirit indeed is willing but the methods are out of date.

Before research can be of service to the church the church must undergo a mental revolution of profound importance. In the first place the church must learn that any religion or creed which is not intelligent cannot survive. In the second place the church must discover sin. The church has created a great "bone yard" where everything it does not fancy or understand is discarded and labeled "sin," until the time has come when people prefer to take their chances in the "bone yard." Little has been left in the orthodox fold to make it desirable. Sin has become synonymous with pleasure. The *index prohibitus* is more suited to the generation of Moses than to the twentieth century. The church must discover that the study of evolution is not so great a sin as is the refusal of the church to allow honest thinking. Nor is the use of motion pictures in the churches to teach moral and religious truth as great a sin as the type of revival so common in some of our southern colleges to-day—revival meetings in which the prevalence of denominational dogma, embarrassment, and super-emotionalism tend to disgust the student with every pretense of religion.

Man is instinctively religious, and yet it is noteworthy that young people, in general, are losing interest in the church. Evidently the church is failing to meet the religious needs of the younger generation. Research will tell why and furnish a solution, but it is a great task. The present organization and existing methods of church work can never solve the problem. Silver teas and committee meetings are

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ridiculously inefficient. The reformation of church methods is a problem for experts. The task is one for men who understand young people as well as religion; men who are trained in research methods and know how to get results.

Nor will any real advance be made as long as those leaders who are essentially liberal and progressive in their thinking remain lethargically inactive for fear of disturbing the tranquil mediaevalism of their constituencies. The fatalists have had their inning with their doctrines of the fall of man, the essential wickedness of the material creation, and the imminent destruction of the world with fire. The present generation is more interested in the progress of man than in his fall. They are making good use of material things, realizing that wickedness is a property of mind rather than of matter, and it is quite evident that threats of fire and brimstone and the end of the world are incapable of driving the younger generation to the mourners' bench.

The new generation has lost faith in a theology which is afraid of investigation. Those who have been carefully protected from the outer world and trained in the various sectarian orthodoxies are rudely disturbed when chance throws them in contact with the facts of life. They become so disturbed, in fact that they tend to discard not only that part of religion which is artificial but along with it much that is really worth while. Or if the blow strikes from another angle it often results in a bitterness toward all creeds which differ in any detail from the inherited faith, thus producing a feeling of intolerance which is fatal to human coöperation.

The present hostility to freedom of expression is keeping many brilliant young men from the profession of the ministry. They feel that they can be of greater service to humanity in professions which allow greater freedom of thought and

expression, and the natural result is the domination of the church by those whose thoughts have been made to fit the moulds of ancient philosophy.

V

The great masses of the common people want peace. Their basic needs are universally the same. International conflict is an invention of leaders. The common people follow the leaders to war, but the issues of the conflict are manufactured by the leaders and are not natural antagonisms between the people. The same generalization is true of religion. Interdenominational conflict is an artificial disagreement. There would be no denominationalism if there were no sectarian leaders. The present revival of war between science and religion is not due to any inherent antagonism between the things of nature and the things of the spirit. It is rather the product of the human imagination. Overzealous leaders have precipitated a war between two great realms of human thought which are natural allies. And to-day on all sides we read of the threatened split of the church. Liberals on the one hand and "Fundamentalists" on the other. It cannot be denied that there is an issue between the leaders, but how artificial this issue becomes when viewed from the standpoint of the followers!

The problem of the church reduces itself to that of the removal of artificial barriers. Ignorance, intolerance, superstition and unthinking credulity are the greatest obstacles before the church to-day. Superstition, intolerance and unthinking credulity have no place in science, and the contention of the "Fundamentalist" leaders that science destroys faith finds no support in fact. Dr. Millikan, writing in *The Christian Century*, has shown not only that a very large percentage of the great men of

science are men of faith but also that these men are enthusiastically engaged in religious work. Science will serve religion if religion will give it a chance. Religion is the heavy loser in conflict. Scientific truth cannot destroy true religion. Scientific analysis has not destroyed the beauty of the rainbow or the glory of the sunset, but has multiplied a thousand-fold the wonders of the whole creation. No matter how marvelous the discoveries of science may be in the future we need

have no fear that anything really worth while will be lost to the world through research, and much may be gained—much more than we know—if we only have faith—a fearless faith in the goodness of God and the ultimate triumph of truth.

Religion needs information as well as inspiration. The evangelization of the world is too great a task to be undertaken by unskilled labor, working without appreciation of the scientific achievements of modern times.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Liberal-minded Christians stand in the exposed position of all those who elect a middle road between two extremes. In addition to the frontal assaults of conservative religion they must meet the flank attack of scientific naturalism, which would persuade them to a world view in which the bracing "cosmic chill" has replaced the outworn ideas of gods, souls, and intrinsic values for truth, goodness, and beauty. This is "The Evangelicals' Dilemma" that Justin Wroe Nixon diagnoses in the September *Atlantic*. Their real task, of building a bridge between historic Christianity and the modern world, can be done only by finding positive and creative ground to stand on, not mistaking the science of religion or philanthropy and social reform for religion itself, and by demonstrating their faith by works. Naturalism is at best a superficial philosophy, for by a right use of the scientific method spiritual values can be greatly strengthened and enriched.

"Can Religion Be Taught" in the public schools of America? Thirty states allow the Bible to be read but not discussed; in 6 states it is a part of the curriculum; in 12 states its use in any manner is forbidden.

We commonly hear that religion cannot be safely brought into the schools, that church and state must be kept separate. Yet education without religion, insists Charles M. Sheldon in the October issue, is more than a blunder—it is a dangerous falsehood. The greatest of all teachers commanded his disciples to follow his example and teach not theology, dogmas, or creeds that set men apart, but a way of life comprehended in love for God and love for one's neighbor. If we are willing to accept this simplicity, the average teacher in our schools will be able to give an adequate course in the life of Jesus, inculcating true religion and offensive to no one.

Harry Emerson Fosdick presents in *Harper's* for September and October the first papers of an eloquent series on "Religion and Life." It is obvious, he says, that the two have been drifting apart; yet religion is intelligently defensible and it contributes to more abundant living. We have been approaching life from the outside, not seeing that without moral autonomy, control of man's inner world in the spirit of Christ, our tremendous material civilization will fall to pieces.

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And religion at its source is a personal adventure in a way of living. Historic Christianity was not faith in a creed, a book, or a church, but close relationship to Jesus and what he stood for. In time theory built on this experience, and has sometimes so overwhelmed it that we have trouble finding the reality beneath the form. The liberal movement of today is the attempt to make a church that deals with the whole of life seriously in terms of spiritual vision and valor.

The call for leadership to realize this aim is a challenge to the best American youth. Religion is in an unhealthy state, Dr. Fosdick declares in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for October. Much contemporary Christianity is making people not better but worse. We need the sort of religion that will sweep away prejudice, bringing people together in love rather than spurring them on to fight one another for their own narrow convictions; that will satisfy our intelligence by distinguishing between abiding experiences or convictions and the historic forms in which they have been set; that will send men out to apply their principles to the social and industrial order of today. We will have to learn from an earlier generation that faith is not a pillow for optimism but a goad to courageous action. Hence the crying "Need of Modern Religious Leadership."

The *Forum's* recent extended debate on Catholicism in the United States is followed, in the October issue, by an investigation of the Roman church in Massachusetts made by Kate Sargent. She reminds us of the sad plight of Boston,

The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Flanagans govern the Lowells,
And even monopolize God.

The church plays there a double rôle: one as the healer of hearts and builder of

souls, and the other as a strong political machine, ambitious for temporal power and effective in using it. A conspiracy of silence, due to the fear of promoting open warfare or incurring the charge of religious prejudice, has been thrown by Protestants around discussion of Catholic activities, but the precarious state of public education is well known. The fundamental opposition is not one of creed (Masonic and Klan agitation may be largely discounted), but of a free church in a free state against a new form of autocratic organization and control. Mrs. Sargent's arraignment promises to become more specific in the November number.

"Religion and the College"—no strangers to one another, since most of our colleges owe their origin to religious motives, and the great majority of teachers and students are professing Christians. Time was, we are reminded by Ernest D. Burton in the September *Peabody Journal of Education*, when higher education was a matter of textbooks and memorizing, but today authority has given place to free investigation and hard thinking, and the religious life of the college should be in substantial harmony with its intellectual life. Yet religion cannot be dealt with on a purely intellectual basis: it is not a mere body of knowledge but life itself, and the spirit of Jesus furnishes the only sure guide to its nature. To be inspired by His personality and to follow the scientific method as He first practiced it—facing facts and relating their deeper meanings, making them rather than opinions the fountain of action, and adding to induction and deduction an estimate of values and a strong element of faith—is the truest and most effective sort of religion.

In a paper prepared for the Scopes defense counsel, Kirtley F. Mather has given

one of the frankest and clearest of many recent discussions of the relation between "Evolution and Religion." No theory of science, he maintains, contradicts the teaching of Jesus; one deals with physical laws and material realities, the other with moral law and spiritual truth. Choice between them is unnecessary and in fact impossible. Much of the recent distrust of evolution is based on four misconceptions: that the Bible limits the history of the earth to 6000 years; failure to see that while evolution is a process or method God is the power behind the process; that evolution means the survival of the most ruthless, without regard to qualities of coöperation and love; and that man's animal descent precludes his possessing an immortal spirit. The article appears in the *Scientific Monthly* for September.

The religious life of the Negro suffered tremendously during the recent war. Large gains were offset by still larger losses. Miles Mark Fisher, writing on "The Negro Church and the World-War" in the September *Journal of Religion*, describes the socializing of church work, ambitious programs of religious endeavor, coöperation between sects, broadened views of many ministers, spiritual awakening, and racial solidarity that came during those years. But there was as well a great increase in internal bickering, lying propaganda, schisms, political entanglements, spiritual shallowness, and sexual immorality that have left permanent scars on every denomination. The church has gone back largely to its former other-worldliness, and looks in vain for a new prophet of civic righteousness.

The Negroes are the youngest of civilized people, the Chinese the oldest. How does this ancient land face the intellectual

and religious revolution brought by the spirit of modernism? The classical world view of China, concerned only with the good life on earth, makes transition to a modern humanism fairly easy, but popular faiths and the dead weight of ancient custom present a formidable barrier. Yet the advance of industrialism, the use of scientific method, and democratic ideals cannot fail to bring a new outlook to the masses. The chief signs of "Modernism in China" as A. Eustace Haydon sees them in the same issue, are the dropping of a state cult, the reformation in Buddhism, eclectic religious movements, and the renaissance of youth, who are questioning the past of the nation without reverence or fear. Hope lies in a social idealism, coupled with general education and economic welfare, that will conserve the genuine values of the older life.

Prediction of a painful and destructive conflict between the vast inertia of American thought and the spirit of the modern world is made by an astute English observer, S. K. Ratcliffe, in the September *Contemporary Review*. The Scopes trial was merely the first skirmish: we are in for a grave spiritual civil war, in which many of the forces of economic conservatism, seeing all privilege threatened, will make common cause with religious obscurantism. For two centuries or more Americans, occupied with subduing the land, have been falling farther and farther behind in enlightenment and spiritual experience. Darwin is, belatedly enough, the present bogey, but the newer psychology and social sciences are due soon to bear the brunt of the attack. The central question of intellectual and social freedom remains to be decided. "America and Fundamentalism" is the title of his article.

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RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

LEVELS OF IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION AND THE COMMUNITY

WALTER G. BEACH

IN A restless, moving world so unsettled as ours is today, assimilation is almost the most critical problem in social life. Much of the trend of social movement is toward ultimate desocialization—a disintegration which is in danger of proving more powerful than all the unconscious unifying forces. At bottom this tendency is economic. It began with the revolution in industry in the eighteenth century, and has grown in power and breadth as this revolution has brought within its sweep a wider and wider circle of humanity. The demand of industry is for men as labor-units. Capitalist organization of industry has no social purpose in itself with respect to its labor force; it is a mechanical coöperation only, and in no sense a human or community coöperation.

There can be no greater source of weakness and degradation than this process of atomizing mankind. Normally men are a part of some social group life, usually bound to locality, and sharing the ways, the culture, of their fellow associates. This culture is the very life blood of their individual characteristics. It nourishes them as they grow while it makes them one with itself. This is the nature and power of community life, into which the individual sends his roots and from which he draws his sustenance while shaping the typical quality of his nature. The

forces of stabilization and of upbuilding are essentially the expression of the process of incorporation in community life. Just as in the animal body a severed organ withers because it is cut off from the life-current of the organism, so in the social world, it is the community spirit expressed in its institutions, activities and standards, acting through forms of communication, which constitutes the basis of the life and quality of the personality of the individual.

It is therefore undoubtedly the most serious and menacing result of modern industry that it ruthlessly destroys social groups—families, neighborhoods, communities—and so completely tears men apart from all previous social relationships that they become simply industrial atoms, dehumanized through the disintegration of their social life. Migratory workers illustrate the situation. They are steadily increasing in American society and suggest the problem of people without a community life. Even though they migrate by families—as in the fruit picking season—so that this one social institution is kept alive, in all other respects such workers have no social bonds nor community relationships. They are in the community but not of it; they do not meet community standards of education, health, morality, or economic life; they are not fed by its institutions; they

put down no social roots. Even more desocialized are migratory single workers, whether male or female. Herein is the ultimate evil in industrial domination of society, that as men cease to be social they tend also to cease to be human, though fortunately the isolation process never becomes complete.

It is moreover to be remembered that in bringing human work-units together from various sources, capital seeks for cheapness. The consequence is that it tends to draw those who will most readily submit to the atomizing process, whether through ignorance, or poverty, or general weakness. The more virile and intelligent members of foreign communities are likely to resist this excommunicating process, except when there is grave persecution of a political, religious, or economic sort. And this is a significant difference between the new immigration and the old: formerly the lure of the land brought men together into communities; in time the newcomers became a part of these communities, sharing in their institutions their standards and their life. But the response to wages which characterizes the new immigration throws men into temporary and artificial associations, without institutions or standards of social life. Thus the older basis of immigration tended on the whole to select from the top; it drew the strong and the far-seeing and the socially-minded. But the new industrial basis which brings immigrants today selects from the bottom, choosing the ignorant, the unresisting, the easily dominated, the cheap.

Thus, in a word, in a tool age the community controlled and absorbed men, sharing with them its life. But it is the weakness and evil of the age of capitalism that the capital interest—a non-human factor in production—and not the community life itself controls and atomizes

workers through isolating them from life-giving community forces. The worker thus tends to become merely "a factor in production" and not a citizen.

How to change this condition is probably the most immediately critical problem in American social life. The usual answer to the difficulty has been assimilation; but this answer does not go deep enough. Assimilation does indeed involve absorption in the life of the community, but its possibilities are various, depending upon the means and aims used. American community life is itself of many kinds; it has many levels; its material standards of living vary from poverty to wealth; its levels of education and aspiration are equally varied. Upon which of these many levels shall assimilation of these de-socialized work-units which capital has chosen out of widespread human varieties take place? The very nature of community building suggests the only possible answer. Progressive communities tend to establish for themselves such standards as can appeal to members of every class, if they are at all conscious of their community life. Only in such cases can community loyalty overshadow class attachment and interest; and unless this result is reached the community is in the gravest danger of destruction.

If the unincorporated immigrant laborer is to be safely absorbed in the American life, therefore, the community must make possible for him such standards as will appeal to him as worth while. These standards are both economic and social; they include adequate wages, decent housing, kindly treatment in industrial relations, some share in the arrangements of his work, such education as he can appreciate, and friendship. If assimilation is attempted with lower standards it is likely to fail altogether, as it is now

failing, leaving the alien worker a social outlaw and outcaste. The great social need is community building of such a kind that decent life may be shared by all persons. In so far as this need is realized, the assimilation of aliens will follow easily, since social vitality depends upon hopeful and willing sharing of the life of society.

Some such process as this is the only cure for the dehumanizing force of industrialism in its atomizing policy. In the end community gives life; the finer its institutions and standards, the finer the life; and there is no other source of life. The assimilation problem, under the term Americanization, is often considered to be simply a problem of philanthropy, to engage, therefore, the interest of philanthropists or charity workers alone. But this is far from true; assimilation is no more a problem of philanthropy than are such problems as community health or education. On the contrary it is a vital aspect of community organization. The finely organized community offers life on fine terms, for it is the community which is the bearer of life. Through its institutions and activities life-opportunities are created, the individual becoming alive as he shares and contributes to these opportunities. In poorly organized communities the life-currents are more or less dammed up, poor standards, stagnant institutions, and unjust laws checking the movements which make wholesome life. Under such conditions community life hardens into layers, representing different levels or standards, to the lower of which society gives but little of its vital strength; for societies are very complex, so that different groups may share partially in its life and yet to some extent live a life apart.

It is unfortunate that it is assumed that the immigrant should enter the community at a low level, and that we should be satisfied to have him do so. For the poorer the level on which he lives, the less is the chance of assimilation. Under these conditions such degree of assimilation as results is to a class—and an unhappy and dissatisfied class—while only in a small way is his assimilation to the entire community life. Assimilated at such a level, his presence tends to intensify class conflict and class hatred, and to weaken community cohesion. Whatever increases distance between groups weakens assimilation and lessens unity. Not only is this observable with regard to racial groups; it is equally characteristic of class groups. Barriers between classes, leading to social prestige and divergent standards, create a consciousness of separation through isolation and conflict. But if class distance and racial or national distance unite in the same groups the result is an exaggeration of distance. Even education makes for assimilation only where the education is in common and is open between the separated groups.

Class distance, moreover, easily becomes estrangement. The existence of different group levels suggests that while assimilation may take place between alien race groups belonging to the same economic class, yet their *assimilation to the class rather than the community may increase and exaggerate estrangement between this class as a whole and other class groups*. Thus the accumulating of unskilled laborers from Europe and the massing of this labor with others of native birth in the same unsatisfactory economic and social status widens the distance between entire classes in a nation in which classes were at one time—except for slavery—a minor fact.

A WHITE AND BLACK WORLD IN AMERICAN LABOR AND POLITICS

ABRAM L. HARRIS

DURING the past presidential campaign, leaders of the National Conference for Progressive Political Action were uncertain of the attitude that the rank and file would take toward Negro affiliation and consequently hesitated to include Negro representation in the movement.¹ But when certain Negroes who, like the progressives, recognized the political and economic ineptitude of the ascendant parties and therefore the necessity of re-aligning political forces, without regard to the race problem, insisted upon identification with the movement, the executive council of the N. C. P. P. A. invited Negro liberals to the July convention. The speech of a single unofficial Negro delegate stirred the convention and perhaps led to the creation of a Negro Division with headquarters at Chicago. It would be very interesting to know just how successful the Negro Division was in diverting Negro votes from the Republicans to the Progressives. Of course an exact estimate is impossible. Negro intellectuals, a mere handful when compared with the masses of Negro voters, may have openly endorsed the La Follette-Wheeler combination, but this is no reliable index to the distribution of the Negro vote. But from the small amount of campaigning done it should follow that the progressive vote among Negroes was almost nil. The election returns from various sections of the country seemed to indicate that the Negro voted almost solidly for Coolidge and

Dawes and in the local elections voted the Democratic ticket or assisted in electing independent candidates possessing liberal views on the race question or in exceptional cases elected Negro candidates.²

The writer has observed a most intimate relationship with the Negro bourgeoisie which comprises a large number of race-conscious business folk, lawyers, doctors, etc.; the Negro of intellectual aspirations—teachers, writers, preachers and social workers; and the Negro workers whose racial attitudes are molded by the former classes. The usual indictment made against the progressive movement by the Negro worker was that the Conference for Progressive Political Action could not be liberal to the Negro when the very unions which dominated it not only discriminated against Negro membership in the union but denied Negro workers the right to enter certain crafts.³ The other two classes of Negroes held that the progressives did not want the Negro vote inasmuch as the La Follette-Wheeler platform made no special appeal to Negroes by endorsing a federal anti-lynching bill, or the elimination of segregation in government buildings and disfranchisement in Southern states.

Perhaps it is regrettable that intelligent Negro groups display such a lack of appreciation for the general politico-economic reforms at which liberal statesmen aim. The consummation of these reforms may do more toward liberating the Negro from

¹ The writer had considerable correspondence about this matter with Mr. Arthur E. Holder, Secretary of Executive Committee, The National Conference for Progressive Political Action, Washington, D. C.

² The reader should remember that this statement is conjectural. The writer derives his estimate from a study of election returns contained in Negro newspapers during this period.

³ Allusion was made here to the Railway Brotherhoods and the International Machinists Association.

privations which he suffers as a submerged group than all of the voluble enunciations of an abstract doctrine of inalienable rights or recommendations for federal anti-lynching bills. But the Negro's apathy toward economic reform and progressive political action must be considered, first, in the light of the strained relationship which exists between the races generally, and the white and black workers specifically; secondly, the sentiments which his experience has occasioned him to build about the Republican Party; and, thirdly, the persistent exploitation of this historic sentimentalism by the Republican Party with the aid of adroit and sometimes unscrupulous Negro politicians.

The Negro's demand for political remedies for his ills and his disinterest in simon-pure political and economic reforms has been mistakenly attributed to a rapidly increasing race consciousness. From the preceding analysis this is hardly tenable. As far back as the late sixties the Negro displayed a similar apathy to economic reform, requesting that special legislative reforms be enacted to meet racial proscriptions. When the National Labour Union was espousing Greenbackism as the means of raising the economic status of the workers, Negroes under the leadership of John M. Langston, a Republican politician, participated in the first two labor congresses held by the organization. Langston cautioned his followers against the Democrats in the conventions. An open rift soon occurred, and the Negroes organized separately but sent delegates to the congresses of the white National Labor Union. The platforms adopted at the colored conventions differed very appreciably from those of the white workers. Greenbackism, taxation of government bonds, taxation of rich for war purposes, and independent political action by the workers were carefully

avoided. Such measures were possibly omitted for fear of offending the Republican Party or because their full significance was not fully appreciated.⁴ The Negro conventions were chiefly concerned with education and the creation of special homestead acts for Negroes in the South. When the National Labor Union became the National Labor Party, the Negro delegates finally cut the bare thread which held them to the union. One delegate, Isaac Myers, from the colored National Labor Union stated that independent political action by labor was unnecessary, since all reforms could be obtained through the Republican Party.⁵

The Republican Party is looked upon by white Northern workers as representing the interests of the business and commercial class; and the Democratic Party, until recently, as more nearly representative of working class aspirations. The southern workers make no such distinction. They are wedded to the Democratic Party not so much because of a belief in its fidelity to their economic interest as because of the historic significance the Republican Party bears to the Negro with whom white workers are at cross purposes.⁶ So the Southern white workers' alignment with a progressive political movement will more than likely depend upon its attitude toward the Negro

⁴ Vid. *History of Labor in the United States*, Commons and Associates, Vol. II, page 137-145.

⁵ Ibid., Commons and Associates, *History of Labor in the United States*.

⁶ During the recent presidential campaign John Hopkins Halls, Jr., Virginia State Commissioner of Labor, issued a public statement which pooh-poohed the idea that the Virginia State Federation of Labor endorsed the progressives. Furthermore, he held that the Democratic Party's history proved its friendliness to labor. This was typical of the Southern workers' response to progressivism and independent political action by the workers. In this connection see "New Feuds in the Democratic Party" by Mark Sullivan, *World's Work*, April, 1925.

workers. In short, conflicting race psychologies vitiate any reapproachment between white and black workers and thus render impossible the unanimity of feeling and purpose necessary for independent working class action in politics. How may these psychologies be accounted for? Will not the stimulation of intellectual candor through education shatter race traditions and mythically founded hates? Our attention will be devoted in the rest of the essay to answering these questions.

THE SOCIAL HERITAGE FROM THE SLAVE REGIME

Slavery as an economic circumstance involving black slaves and white freemen gave rise to certain psychologies which, as the status of subject and dominant groups became fixed by law and custom, determined the character of contact and the extent to which it should take place between whites and blacks. Hence the inevitable separation of whites and blacks into different spheres of thinking and acting. Each effort made by the subject group to change the *status quo* has met the stronger resistance power of the dominant. But in his dealings with the most dominant members of the white race, the Negro, oftentimes, is highly revered, providing he keeps "in his place." In the South, Negroes who are in the capacity of servants sit in sections reserved on public conveyances and in public places for white persons. A Negro woman may suckle a white child, but marriage between that child and one of the Negro woman's offspring would not only be considered preposterous by the white parents but in all likelihood condemned by the white child. Or, in the North, where Negroes have fewer legal restrictions, the association between white and black university students, for instance, is seldom free and intimate, while other

students possessed with decidedly negroid physical traits are received as social equals—as long as such students are foreigners, or mistaken for foreigners.

In any of these cases, or similar ones, the attitudes upon which racial separation is built are not reflexes of pure race (color) psychology. Were these feelings attributable to color revulsion white infants would not be given to black women to suckle; whites would not relish the food prepared by their black cooks; nor would they have consorted with black women in supplying the country with a mulatto population. The feeling is apparently that due to a difference in *class* accentuated by dissimilar physical traits which distinguish the dominant from the subject group. Yet the relationship between the Negro and the upper-class whites is far more amicable, albeit paternalistic, than that existing between the Negro and the economically disadvantaged whites. Here, class antipathy is acute.⁷ To this class of whites the Negro is not only a dangerous competitor for economic preferment in the social order but a *nigger*—something far lower in the human scale than anything white could ever descend. On the other hand, the Negro, partly conscious of this intra-racial competition, perceives the white workers as descendants of "po' whites" whom he learned to despise under the slave regime.

The commonalty of economic interests between these classes of wage-earners is the hackneyed dictum of the radical propagandist. But appeals to these groups to unite for common action have been futile. Instead of labor solidarity one finds a slowly abating competition

⁷ For the birth of this competition during the slave regime and resulting class hate, See J. R. Commons, *Documentary History of American Society*, Vol. II, page 367. Also Lodge, *English Colonies in America*, pages 70-72.

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between skilled and unskilled,⁸ and a silent persisting clash between white and black workers.⁹ In many instances, the organization of the Negro workers is actually prohibited by the union's constitution—e.g., the International Association of Machinists, organized at Atlanta Georgia in 1889. A Negro social welfare organization has devoted much attention to discrimination against Negro workers by organized labor.¹⁰ Through the efforts of one of its Board members who is also a member of the American Federation of Labor, agitation was led against the exclusion of Negro members by certain unions. At the Cincinnati Convention (1922) the Executive Council reported that it had brought as much pressure as possible, but without success, to induce the

Railway Carmen and the boiler-makers to change their constitutions so as to admit Negroes. However, the Council reported that it had organized six systems of adjustment boards to assist colored freight handlers, and that colored men had been organized in separate locals directly attached to the American Federation of Labor. Similarly in 1900 Samuel Gompers came out unequivocally for the inclusion of Negro workers in the American Federation of Labor. Despite these attempts to dissolve color barriers in the labor movement the majority of the crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor persists in legislating against Negro membership or in contriving equally as effective covert methods of exclusion.¹¹ Discrimination in the unions react as deleteriously upon the labor movement from an economic point of view as upon the Negro workers. Where Negroes are denied membership but are still able to ply their craft, the wage rate received by them is usually lower than the union wage scale. This means that the Negro usually works under open shop conditions and because of it threatens union standards and stability. On the other hand these conditions force them to observe a lower standard of living, the effects of which are registered in community maladjustment. It is because of the race hostility and economic disadvantage induced by union discrimination that the National Urban League has created a Department of Industrial Relations which aims to affect a reapproachment between the white and black workers under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

If racial attitudes prevent white and

⁸ Since its inception in 1886, the American Federation of Labor has adhered very closely to organization upon a craft basis, each craft union being autonomous and self-determining. (See "Labor Unions at the Danger Line," F. L. Bullard, *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1923.) Negro Labor, for the most part unskilled, has been kept out of the labor movement by this policy of organization. In view of innovations in industrial technology and the encroachments of unskilled workers upon the skilled, the A. F. of L. has tried to meet industrial unionism halfway by creating departments. See "Revolutionary Unionism," page 139, *Trade Unionism in United States*, Robert Hoxie; "Revolution and Counter-Reformation," Chapter 9, *The History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, Selig Perlman; and "Evolution versus Amalgamation" Vol. 5, page 59, *The American Labor Year Book*, The Rand School of Social Science.

⁹ The radical unions show a decided friendly attitude toward Negro workers. Especially is this true of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The same may be said of the United Mine Workers in certain sections where the foreign element predominates. See "The Negro and Economic Radicalism," Abram L. Harris, Jr., *The Modern Quarterly*, February, 1925.

¹⁰ The National Urban League, for social service among Negroes (Headquarters, New York City). The newly created Industrial Department of this organization has been devised for systematic handling of this situation.

¹¹ Vid. "The Negro and Economic Radicalism," Abram L. Harris, Jr., *The Modern Quarterly Magazine*, February, 1925. See, also, the *American Labor Year Book*, pages 54 and 69, Vol. V.

black workers from associating in trade unions, how great is the probability that they will unite in a political party for economic reform? Or, that by uttering a few Marxian epigrams, economic class consciousness will be awakened in white and black workers? The Negro may be continually admonished of being exploited by white capitalists, but experience and tradition, perhaps, lead him to wonder if working for a white employer at a wage slightly below that paid his white competitor is as great a handicap as ostracism or double-dealing by the union. His calculations are usually in favor of the employer.

The fortunate few among the Negro workers have escaped the wages system into self-employment through the establishment of race enterprises which oft-times have been successful. Others who have remained wage-earners accept unionism, if at all, hesitatingly or possibly with a crude pragmatism.

So insuperable has seemed the task of allaying the mutual suspicion of white and black workers that even radicals have lost most of their ardor for emancipating black "wage-slaves." This, however, is not true of the handful of Communists who constitute the Workers' Party of America and who believe that the Negro workers' recent advent into machine industry will inevitably mean his awakening to working-class consciousness.¹² An

¹² The Fourth Congress of the Third Internationale held in Moscow November 7 to December 3, 1922, resolved that "the international struggle of the Negro race is a struggle against capitalism and imperialism." The resolutions further stated that the Communist Internationale, "is not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America, but equally of the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world (and) will fight for race equality of the Negro with the white people, as well as for equal wages, and political and social rights (and) will use every in-

infinitesimal minority of black communist apostles are relied upon to proselyte the Negro workers for the class struggle.¹³ It is very likely that the present attitude of white organized labor which, itself, is not class conscious, and the Negro's gradual emergence in the open shop from the ranks of unskilled labor into that of the skilled, may accentuate his individualism and thus shatter the communists' spectacular puerile forecasts. Like the *Messenger Magazine*,¹⁴ the erstwhile mouthpiece of socialism among Negroes, the Communists too will ultimately retire from the field of radical propaganda. Upon gradually losing the support of white radicals, and realizing that as an organ of socialistic propaganda, it could not safely rely upon the Negro for constant support, the *Messenger* became a literary monthly. Whatever the editor's closet *welt-anschauung* may be, the *Messenger* is no longer the mouthpiece of "scientific radicalism." Where the magazine once carried the socialist emblem, "Workers of the World Unite," it now places a tribute to Negro business enterprise.

In spite of all that has been said, one should not be dogmatic about the future significance of the Negro's industrial advance to the organized labor movement.¹⁵ As the migration of the black

strument within its control to compel the trade unions to admit Negro workers . . . (and) will take immediate steps to hold a general Negro conference or congress in Moscow," *American Labor Year Book*, Vol. V, page 311.

¹³ Vid. "Aspirations of Educated Colored Leaders," Abram L. Harris, Jr., *Current History Magazine*, June, 1923.

¹⁴ A socialist magazine published by Negroes. The Lusk Commission's Report on Radicalism in the United States called this publication the most dangerous of all Negro publications. Vid. The Lusk Commission's *Report on Radicalism*, Vol. II.

¹⁵ Vid. "The Negro Migrations North," Abram L. Harris, Jr., *Current History Magazine*, September, 1924.

workers continues, bitter experience may teach organized labor the necessity of lowering its barriers so as to admit more of these workers. And as the Negro workers become more acclimated to the ways of capitalism—its waves of unemployment, the periodicity of industry, industrial hazards and the individual worker's insecurity—they may evince a keener desire to control some of the disabilities they suffer under the wages system. Collective bargaining and unionism may then be expected. But labor solidarity and independent political action are contingent upon a change in race attitudes and relationship. As reflected by the working masses this transformation will only follow in consequence of a revolution of opinion among enlightened black and white leaders.

LIBERALISM AND THE NEGRO

A growing race consciousness, both among the masses and the educated Negroes, is the matrix from which issues a quick resentment to real and imagined grievances. In extreme cases the proverbial "chip" is carried. Evidences of this awakened consciousness are the demands for Negro business enterprises, slogans of "patronize your own" and efforts to create in the Negro a deeper appreciation for his cultural contributions to Western civilization.

The Garvey movement, with its black Christs and Madonnas is symbolic of a color psychosis which may easily develop from an extreme racial positive-self-feeling. If the Negro's ever-increasing self-assertion is not guided by Negro intellectuals possessed of catholic vision, it will build within the present order a self-illuminating black world oblivious to things white. If guided by such leadership, his contributions to music, art and literature may exceed present calculations, or his alignment with

some phases of liberal thought may definitely be established. Such a task is more easily delegated to the Negro intellectual than accomplished by him. His education and balked ambitions render him more race conscious than the ignorant and disadvantaged Negro. Secluded in his room, a Negro intellectual may try to surpass Marx in determining how best to deliver the capitalist into the hands of the proletariat. When this same Negro enters his real world where he encounters the apathy of his own group and the hostility of the white, very likely he ponders the feasibility of the converse proposition. Without doubt many Negroes would be more inclined to an acceptance of radical and liberal doctrines were it not for these circumstances. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois long ago recognized the quandary in which the intellectual Negro is placed by the race problem:

They must perpetually discuss the Negro problem, must live, move and have their being in it, and interpret all else in its light or darkness. From the double life that every American Negro must live as a Negro and as an American, as swept on by the current of the twentieth century while struggling in the eddies of the fifteenth—from this must arise a powerful self-consciousness and a moral hesitancy which is almost fatal to self-consciousness.¹⁸

As shown in the first part of the essay, race psychology thwarts comprehensive progressive political action and the growth of liberalism in America. The same force is now seen as an obstruction to universality of thought among Negroes. So absorbed is the Negro intellectual with the race problem that problems of labor, housing, taxation, judicial reform and war, all of which affect him, must needs be relegated to the limbo of minor significance. And the Negro who aspires to intellectual heights, but at the same time

¹⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, page 102.

gives himself up to advocating remedial racial legislation, organizing equal rights leagues or proving that his race is not mentally inferior to the white—without becoming a propagandist or an inflated racist—is put to his wit's end in an attempt to syncretize incongruous ideals.

Another deterrent to the advance of Negro liberalism is the race's religiosity. The harsh environment in which the Negro found himself as a slave made a normal expression of his social impulses impossible—his emotions were suppressed. Consequent upon his introduction to Christianity these pent-up emotions found a channel of expression. They were directed toward constructing sentiments around an otherworldly symbolism; and thus his world of despair was robbed of reality. What is often taken for an indigenous religious temperament on the Negro's part is in truth a mere compensatory or defense mechanism which persists because the complexes which gave rise to it have only been superficially disturbed. The success of religious leaders in holding the Negro steadfastly orthodox may be largely attributable to the latter's effort to escape reality. Thus this leadership, in administering to the Negro's spiritual needs, augments the psychic compensation derived from super-natural values. As such it is both cause and effect of orthodoxy. Under these conditions, advanced thinking, whether it brings religious skepticism, economic radicalism, social reform and re-adjustment, or the repudiation of hoary political traditions, must futilely run the gauntlet of religious orthodoxy, if it would gain audience. One would logically assume, in light of the Negro's years of persecution, that he would possess a highly developed sense of sympathy for the strivings of other submerged classes, and that his leaders would be more acutely imbued with a

sense of social justice. Sociologists are about agreed that a religious faith requires an uncritical belief in its doctrines and demands that these be placed above other truths as sacred eternal verities. According to Maurice Parmelee, "the attitude encouraged by science is such as to permit free intercourse without restriction between all parts of mankind, while the mental attitude not only encouraged but positively required by religion will always serve as a barrier to the most highly developed and most extensive form of humanitarianism."¹⁷ This is as much applicable to the Negro as a social group as to any other. Therefore, the Negro who should take his place in the vanguard of liberalism, feeling unable to secure an audience or, what is worse, the assurance of income for maintenance, closets from public inspection whatever advanced views he holds.

In assigning causes for the Negro's social conservatism and lack of intellectual daring, pseudo-anthropologists have revitalized Gobineau's racial determinism. These racialists support their acceptance of this doctrine by creating categories of racial psychic endowment arising out of a difference in germ plasm due to environmental selection. Thus white man's civilization is to be attributed to the Nordic's restlessness and to his spirit of conquest and mental indefatigability. Similarly, docility, indifference to the future, non-purposiveness in thought, imitateness and minstrelsy are designated negroid characteristics.¹⁸ Although the present essay is not designed to refute the transmission of acquired traits or the notion that characteristics which have been conveniently, albeit speciously, labelled

¹⁷ Maurice Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, page 239.

¹⁸ Vid. G. S. Dow, *Society and Its Problems*, "The American Race Problem," Chapter IX, page 157-188.

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racial, are due to inherent biologic factors, it questions the logic of attributing either the passive nature of the Negro's cultural development or his apathy to advanced thought to the determinism of biological traits selected under African environment.¹⁹ This *à priori* argument, purporting to show the hereditary potency of an African environment in Negro life, is such worthless speculation as to be dismissed without serious comment. One need not go to far-removed Africa for an explanation of the aforementioned features of Negro intellectual growth. A much less doubtful source of information is to be found about us in the observable sociologic phenomena which we have attempted to analyze in this paper. From this analysis it does not appear that the absence of intellectual aggressiveness and

universalism are the result of non-purposiveness in thought stunned by gratuitous African life, but a reflex of the social forces of the environment in which the Negro has lived almost three centuries. It does not seem to be inferior mind stuff which renders him apathetic to liberal social movements, but a circumstance of race which demands him to think 'black.' Butressing these walls of race division are competition between white and black workers; American individualism and the Negro's belief in it; the Negro's religious orthodoxy and his quickened sense of injury and resentment to it. Here then are social forces which create black and white worlds in American society and which are more fatal to the growth of working class consciousness and the Negro's intellectual achievement and emancipation than is all the alleged influence of the environment in which his forbears lived prior to their enslavement by white Americans.

¹⁹ Vid. A critique by Abram L. Harris, Jr., of the above work: "Defining the Race Problem," *Oppportunity*, January, 1925.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

"The Color Line" in America is an arbitrary distinction set up on a basis of skin pigmentation, with minor emphasis shape of lips or nose and form of hair. A man is officially a Negro if he has a single drop of African blood in his veins, and practically one if he bears the physical marks that are popularly supposed to denote African descent. As Melville J. Herskovits points out in the October *American Mercury*, the distinction has become social rather than biological, since a large minority of so-called Negroes are ethnically more white than black, and the color line is "passed" far oftener than most of us realize. Very few are of pure

blood, and there is every conceivable percentage of mixture among them. It would be well for us to see that the problem they raise is sociological and only in small degree racial.

A highly adaptable yet proud people, the Germans have made themselves thoroughly at home in this country while still retaining their own language, customs, and love for the fatherland. Since Penn first invited the Mennonites to Philadelphia, they have spread by the million over the East and Middle West, contributing to our national culture in music, the theatre, and the schools, and filling

the ranks of butchers, bakers, lithographers, and metal and textile workers. They are among the most efficient of farmers, especially in the breeding of good stock and the cultivation of alfalfa, dates, and flax. The war did much to check the progress of assimilation and revive their waning national spirit. Perhaps the most curious of the "German Settlers in the United States," says Konrad Bercovici in the *October Century*, are the Amish sect of Ohio, who live in medieval restraint and narrowness and look scornfully on all the alleged blessings of civilization.

For a scorching attack on the Klan and all its ways read what William R. Pattangall has to say in the leading article of the *September Forum*. The Klan is more than an organization, he declares; it is a state of mind that feeds on the racial and religious prejudice of the nation. Its bigotry and intolerance have bred an inverted klannishness on the part of Jews, Catholics, and aliens that is equally destructive of the true American tradition of liberalism and free intercourse. It offers no cures for the very real evils in our midst except discrimination, ostracism, and inequality imposed through secret control of the government. Its leaders are ill-educated emotional men, often willfully ignorant and sometimes mere adventurers. It creates a civil warfare that may result in the collapse of our whole political system. The only remedy is through better education in Americanism, closer contacts between races, sects, and classes, and the breaking down of all barriers of misunderstanding.

But—"America for the Americans," demands Madison Grant in the same issue, and warns us of some of the evils that will flow from an unchecked invasion of foreigners. Prompted at first by land

hunger, they have come in recent years because of high wages. Our workers will suffer most intensely from their competition, but in the end all classes will have to adopt a lower standard of living. A mixed population results in a struggle of conflicting cultures, the breakdown of law, and the overwhelming of higher, less fertile stocks by those of greater fertility. To avoid these events we should impose intelligence tests on all immigrants, register aliens and eventually the entire population, deport when advisable, naturalize only those who are worthy of citizenship, and further restrict foreign quotas. Failing such moderate measures we may be compelled to suspend immigration altogether.

In the October number Franz Boas takes sharp issue with Mr. Grant's premises and conclusions. The whole idea of race superiority—"This Nordic Nonsense"—is, he declares, as unwarranted as that of national destiny, on which it has been grafted. There are no pure races in the world, and so-called Nordic types are found in every country of Europe. The physical and mental character of an individual is determined less by his ethnic descent than by social heritage and present environment. And it is not true that our immigrants are failing to mingle with the older population: recent studies have shown that the melting pot is boiling merrily, and there is no biological danger from distinct and hostile groups. On sociological grounds our immigration policy should disregard nationality and supposed race altogether, basing restriction only on poor health in the family lines of applicants.

The Institute of Pacific Relations, held in Honolulu during July by a hundred active members from nine countries, was

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an attempt, after the model of the Williamstown Institute, to illumine frankly and unofficially the bases of international understanding in that part of the world. As Chester H. Rowell says in the *Survey* for September 1, there are no concrete results to report, since it formulated no policy and passed no resolutions, but the fullest and freest views were exchanged on the vexed questions of national autonomy, immigration, and the cumulating revolution in China. A somewhat similar account, by Romanzo Adams, appears in the September-October *Journal of Applied Sociology*. . . . "Negro Education Bids for Par," declares Alain Locke in the same number of the *Survey*. Student strikes and alumni manifestoes, and a fresh bond of understanding between practical and academic schools, are two recent indications that Negro institutions are preparing to shake off their inferiority complex and demand fair and equal treatment throughout the country.

Lothrop Stoddard, whose series on "Social Classes in Post-War Europe" from the *Century* has included the peasants, the city workers, and the middle class, writes in the September and October issues on the intellectuals and the aristocrats. The intellectuals have been hardest hit of all:

their continent-wide intercourse has all but ceased, the cost of paper and printing has cut down the making of books, educational systems have declined, they are everywhere living on the verge of want, and their prestige has sadly fallen. In Russia they have wholly disappeared. The upper classes, combining the older nobility and the newer plutocracy, joined vigorously after the war in the alliance against communism, with varying fortunes. In Germany they have won back under a conservative republic much of their old power; in monarchical Hungary they fare best of all; in France and England economic pressure and high taxes have taken a heavy toll. The tendency toward ruralization of the continent may give the landed aristocracy a new lease of life.

A concrete evidence of racial good will is found in a loving cup recently presented at a meeting of the Negroes of Atlanta at the Bethel Church to the Reverend C. B. Wilmer, who gave up his work there to become professor in the University of the South at Sewanee. On this cup was inscribed: "Presented by The Colored People of Atlanta, to Dr. C. B. Wilmer, A Pioneer In Inter-Racial Good Will. He Practices South and His Neighbor Is all Mankind."

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

SEVEN SOUTHERN STATE CAPITALS

HARLEAN JAMES

AT HOME and abroad, on the public platform, in National and State forums, in private conversations and through the printed page the South has defended the doctrine of "States Rights." In a day when the sons of those who staked their lives in an effort to put their theories into practice are accepting federal aid and direction while their Northern cousins are declining similar service on the ground that it would be a transgression of State Rights, we may well ask ourselves whether, in facing a new alignment of political theory regarding the relation between the Federal Government and the States, we cannot open up the subject for discussion on its merits.

When the Colonists were resisting the arbitrary and unreasonable dictation of an hereditary monarch far removed in space and understanding from their pioneer problems, it was only natural that the sturdy settlers should have stressed the "rights" of which well-defined and rather isolated geographic communities which were later perpetuated in the thirteen original States. Today, except for tradition, psychology and sentiment, State lines mean little. Who can deny that Cincinnati, Ohio and Covington, Kentucky or Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas or Omaha, Nebraska and Council Bluffs, Iowa could be united under a single government and physical plan with profit to the residents? Reason-

ing along these lines some of our modern "Mr. Fixits" have jumped to the conclusion that we should have a new deal in States which would recognize natural regions and result in a better-balanced national Congress. The difficulty with such a proposal is that communities are dynamic, not static, and populations have a way of spreading across rivers and over hills and around lakes so that the boundaries of the region of yesterday are lost in the new limits of the region of today. Taking it all in all, therefore, we may as well proceed on the theory that the States as they are constituted, with occasional readjustments which may result from conscious local demands, furnish as useful administrative units as could be devised by the arbitrary subdivisions which would surely be set up by the Federal Government if the impossible were to happen and all State lines were swept away. For it is inconceivable that the three thousand and odd small counties or New England towns could cog their local self governments directly into the great Federal wheel without intermediates. Moreover the great historic heritage of each State and the fact that its citizens accept its boundaries, love its landscape and feel pride in its achievements, makes the State a potentially effective unit of administration. Rhode Island and Texas may seem inconsistent in more ways than in equal Senatorial representation in the

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National Congress, but unless and until the citizens of these commonwealths propose new boundaries, let us proceed on the assumption that the forty-eight States offer sufficient subdivisions of the Union to reflect the major differences in the agricultural and industrial pursuits attached to the land and in the resultant human needs of their populations.

Granting, therefore, that we need States, however inconsistent and unequal their boundaries may seem, let us next inquire into the fate of the slogan of States Rights. Of one thing we may be fairly sure and that is, within the limits of the Constitution, and in matters falling within the general reservation clause, the States have always been free to exercise their prerogatives. But how have the States met their responsibilities? How have State Departments of Education, for instance, compared with metropolitan school administration? What practical agricultural advice was given by the States before the stimulation of the Federal States Relation Service brought about the existing Farm Bureaus and State Agents closely related to the Land Grant Colleges? It seems clear that we have passed from what might be called the Era of States Rights into the Era of States Responsibilities. From rather a sketchy executive administration, an itinerant State judiciary and a legislature which met for a few days once in two years and concerned itself with a modest budget and a few laws on limited subjects, we find today that the States have become great business enterprises. Most of the States are large land owners. Through State machinery they control State charitable and penal institutions. They direct one or more great universities where thousands of youth are educated in agriculture and mechanical arts as well as in professional and academic courses. They

own and maintain State highway systems. Many of the States own extensive forest reserves and recreation parks. Some of the States have set up great insurance departments. Public health, public welfare and conservation have been added to the activities of most of the States. State budgets often run into millions of dollars annually though their Governors are frequently paid less than the private secretaries and clerks of business executives—a practice which has no doubt survived from a period when Governorships were honorary positions and part-time jobs.

The increasing responsibilities of the States have brought new activities to their capital cities. The State Capitol buildings are proving inadequate to house the government officials. The State House Squares are outgrown. We are coming to ask ourselves what should be the relationship between the State and city officials of the forty-eight State capitals. Where should the State buildings be located? How many of them should be centralized in the State capitals? What provision should be made for future expansion? What is the desirable location of the business district of the capital city in relation to the State buildings? How should the street system co-ordinate with the State and city needs? What do the State officials owe the capital city? How can the city fathers serve the State? How about the permanent citizens in the State capitals? What is their relationship to the State executive officials and to the legislators who gather at intervals to make laws for the State and to vote appropriations for State needs? Have the citizens of the State a feeling of ownership and pride in the State Capital? Should the State capital be located in a commercial or industrial city? Should it be near the center of the State? Should the

State universities and other State institutions be located in the State capitals? Should all of the executive departments be centralized in the capital cities? What is the relation of the press of the State capital cities to the citizens of the State at large?

All these and many more questions will readily occur to anyone who opens up the subject of State capitals for thoughtful consideration. No problems in land planning or social relations can be solved conclusively and arbitrarily for all regions. There are far too many changing factors involved. But it has seemed that an examination of some of the outstanding features of the State capital cities of the United States might bring to public attention further possibilities for the development of the forty-eight State capitals of the Union.

In April of 1926 the American Civic Association will invite Governors and State officials to join with city executives and civic leaders in a Conference on State Capitals to be held in the Nation's capital at Washington. As a part of the preliminary steps to make the Conference profitable, a representative of the Association traveled to the State Capitals of the country. The first seven capitals to be visited were in the South. Four of the States were among the original thirteen, two were admitted to the Union in the closing years of the eighteenth century and one in the early years of the nineteenth.

SEVEN STATE HOUSES

A few general observations seem to apply to all seven capitals—Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Atlanta, Montgomery, Nashville and Frankfort. Every State House was originally designed to house under a single roof the two chambers of the Legislature, the Governor and

the executive departments and the State Supreme Court. Today they are all overcrowded. It has been necessary to seek other quarters for many State activities. Some of the seven States have attempted to solve the problem by additions to the State House though in no case have these proved adequate. Others have erected additional buildings. Most of the States are obliged to rent scattered quarters.

But if the Governors of the States are having a hard time to find shelter for their increasing official families they at least have spacious quarters in dignified Capitol buildings. It is the Mayors of the seven capital cities who are stationed in atrocious structures. One mayor whose identity will not be disclosed remarked that the person who set a match to the City Hall would be rendering a service to the town. One could readily believe it when one examined the building over which he presided. But the joke of it is that one could believe it of nearly all the city halls in the seven capitals. On the whole the State Capitols exhibited a marked architectural excellence. But the city halls! They were achievements in ugliness.

As the writer passed among the citizens questions were asked concerning the manner of people who occupied these State Houses and City Halls. According to their politics the voters supported or condemned their Governors and Mayors. Occasionally even the opposition official was given his due. But there were no good words for the benighted public servants of the State legislatures or the city councils. The leading citizens deplore the decline in the quality of these representatives and despair of civic improvement through legislation and appropriations which are dependent upon the votes of these legislative bodies. For the legislators hold the purse strings. They

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make the annual allowances though the executives go to market and do the purchasing. Like thrifty housewives the executives may save; but the legislators must produce and apportion the income.

And yet there should be said a word of defense of these elected representatives of the people. If the public holds a poor opinion of them, what opinion of the public is entertained by the legislators? What do they see? A constant stream of citizens passing through their waiting rooms. By far the majority come with the open palm. They want concessions and protection for private business; they want special favors; they want contracts; they want to sell something to the State; they want jobs for themselves or their friends. How can legislators have a high opinion of the public if they never see that part of it devoted to the public good? It is not for us of the public to improve our informal as well as our formal representation?

RICHMOND

Capitol Square, so graphically described by Ellen Glasgow in one of her novels is to the visitor at once the most interesting and the most commanding spot in Richmond. The Capitol Building crowns a high bluff above the James and stands near the center of a twelve-acre park which sags sharply at one corner. The foundation for the original structure was laid in 1785 and the Virginia legislature first assembled within its walls on the eighth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis. Through the influence of Thomas Jefferson the Capitol was modeled after the *Maison Carrée* of Nuñez, but in the early years of the twentieth century two wings were added, on the whole harmonizing architecturally with the old Capitol though the interior decoration lacks the restraint of the original.

Today business surrounds Capitol Square on all sides but the high retaining wall which encloses most of the Square gives it a secluded and remote appearance in spite of the charmingly quaint Governor's Mansion tucked cosily away in one corner high above the busy street below and the more modern Library Building surrounded by trees and shrubbery. In recent years the pressure for space has been responsible for the erection in the low corner of the Square of a sky-scraper office building. The result is not so bad as might be supposed, since one can still stand on the steps of the stately South portico and look through the surrounding greenery over the top-most story of the State office building. But the Square is not elastic. It cannot continue to serve as the site for more buildings and still retain its park-like appearance. And yet one predicts that it will not be many years before the State of Virginia will be seeking further space in which to house its growing business. What will be the next step? Will the citizens of the State cherish and preserve the Square or will it disappear and become merely the site for a crowded hodge-podge of buildings of different types of architecture?

The citizens of Richmond seem to take great pride in the Capitol, in the Square and in the famous works of art, particularly the Houdon Washington modeled from life. In general the people of Virginia, with the possible exception of those in the pan-handle on the Kentucky-Tennessee border, seem to feel an affection for Richmond as their capital. Richmond was not the first capital of Virginia though it had that distinction during practically all of the national period, as the capital was removed from Williamsburg in 1779 to the little straggling town on the rocky hills which had been laid out by Major Mayo for William Evelyn Byrd some forty

years earlier. Centrally located in the State of Virginia, serving as the capital during most of its existence, at present the principal city in the State in point of size and importance, Richmond would seem to be secure as the capital. There is no talk of changing it. Perhaps its very security has made it seem unnecessary for Richmond as a city to offer further inducements to the State to increase its holdings. The land fronting on Capitol Square is occupied variously just as the private or municipal ownership has dictated. There has been no attempt to control the setting for the Square. There is as yet no planning commission in Richmond though certain functions in city planning are exercised by the Department of Public Works. A zoning commission has been preparing a zoning ordinance. Both will be needed if Richmond is to realize fully its possibilities as a modern State Capital, county seat and metropolitan center.

The Richmond papers have quite a circulation in a State in addition to their readers in the city and in general the citizens may be said to follow the State news as it emanates from the Capital.

RALEIGH

Raleigh, like Richmond, is almost in the exact center of the State, and has been the State capital during its own existence and during practically all of the National period. The site was selected by the legislature in 1792. The city was laid out to be a capital with the ten acres of Capitol Square as the center from which four broad streets extend. Business adjoins the Capitol on one side only. But the Capitol building which is a substantial granite structure of pleasing proportions has proved inadequate in size. The Supreme Court, therefore, is now housed in a separate building facing on the square.

The proposals to add wings to the Capitol and to place buildings on the four corners of the Square were, fortunately, rejected. The State has purchased other adjoining land and some day a series of State buildings will extend partly, if not completely, around the Square.

In the original plan of Raleigh there were four open squares one of which was dedicated to the Governor's mansion. The present structure, unfortunately, was erected in a period when we had forgotten the old architecture and had not yet devised the new. In addition to the State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts which was located in Raleigh in 1889 there are five or six other State institutions. Founded as a State Capital and containing so much State-owned land Raleigh presents a peculiar problem for City Planning and Zoning. Many of the citizens realize this and a definite movement has been launched to plan an adequate park and boulevard system. The State of North Carolina has proved one of the most progressive in the country in education, agriculture and highway development. It is sure sooner or later to cooperate with the city to direct the development of its capital so that adequate public grounds, public parks and open spaces may be reserved while yet the land is available. An unusually enlightened press carries on a continual campaign to keep the public informed concerning the possibilities for the future of Raleigh as the capital of the State.

COLUMBIA

Columbia was laid out by the State of South Carolina and settled as the capital very soon after the close of the Revolution to meet the demand of the people of the State for a capital more centrally located than Charleston. The Capitol is a curious blending of good and bad archi-

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ecture. The main bulk of the building with its graceful classical portico is most satisfying but the dome appears to have been transferred from another building of altogether different character. It seems that the Capitol was designed and partly built before the Civil War but the dome was designed and executed by another architect after the war. The rooms are dignified and in good proportion but the interior woodwork closely resembles the Pullman Palace cars of the late nineteenth century.

In the beginning the State of South Carolina bought the ground, laid out the streets 100 feet wide with four avenues 150 feet wide, set aside public grounds for the Capitol, and then retired from further responsibility for its capital city. It is said that the title to the streets is still vested in the State though their improvement and upkeep falls on the city. The charming effect of the tree-shaded residence streets leads the visitor to wish that the business thoroughfares which were once lined with pleasant trees had not been swept bare when the modern sky scrapers came to proclaim Columbia a modern city. In Washington it has been demonstrated that in streets of sufficient width trees can be maintained even under the shadow of tall buildings.

There are a number of educational institutions in Columbia, including the University of South Carolina, but the city, which has grown from a village of 10,000 in 1880 to the principal metropolis in the State is bound to lose much of its present charm if careful planning does not accompany its commercial expansion. The people have a great asset in "The State" which is said by a New York newspaper man to rank with the Springfield "Republican" and other papers of similar high standards.

ATLANTA

The State of Georgia has already changed its capital twice and has recently experienced a determined effort on the part of Macon to capture the capital from Atlanta. The Constitution of the United States was ratified by the delegates in Augusta, and in 1807 the capital was established at Milledgeville but within the memory of many now living was transferred to Atlanta which has become, not only the principal city in Georgia but the largest and most important city in the South. The Capitol building, located on a down-town square now entirely surrounded by business, has become quite inadequate for the needs of the State. It is said that little or no money has been expended on the upkeep of the Capitol for the last thirty years. One can well believe it. There is some sentiment for selecting larger grounds further from the center of town with the idea of establishing a group of State buildings which would house the State departments adequately and provide space for future expansion. But, apparently, there is some fear that in the campaign to persuade the legislature to authorize and finance the undertaking, the claims of Macon as a more central city for the State capital might be recognized. For the legislature of Georgia is peculiarly constituted. There are something like 160 counties in the State. The favorite pastime of the legislature is the creation of new counties. Practically every town of any size in the State is a county seat. There are more than 200 members of the lower house and some 50 in the upper chamber. Thus Atlanta has even less representation in the State legislature than the large cities in other States where there is a well-defined movement to provide for a metropolitan

representation in proportion to the population.

Another solution which has been proposed for the Georgia problem is the separation of the State into North and South Georgia, with Atlanta capital of the Northern industrial and commercial region and Macon capital of the southern agricultural sections; but there is no indication at present that there will be any action in this direction. Certain it is that the people of Georgia are face to face with several important decisions which will seriously affect their future and the future of their capital or capitals. No large sums of money should be expended on State buildings until the problems have been analyzed and long-range solutions adopted in order that every cent spent by the State should be applied to a permanent plan.

Even before the city of Atlanta became known for its industrial and commercial pursuits its name was famous from Maine to California in connection with the Atlanta "Constitution," a paper which is read throughout all northern Georgia and in many of the metropolitan centers of the United States.

Atlanta has possibly many other distinctions, but one particularly impressed the writer who has driven into so many charming cities by routes far from lovely. The highway approach to Atlanta from the East is very beautiful for many miles and there is no forgotten or neglected stretch to cross between the pastoral country-side and the closely settled suburbs.

Atlanta has a City Planning Commission but employs no permanent city planning consultant and has not undertaken a regional plan. The city has great natural beauty but only through the control established by modern planning and zoning can it hope to maintain its supremacy as a residence city.

MONTGOMERY

The State Capitol in Montgomery was erected in 1851 to replace a building which had burned two years before. Wings have since been added but the architectural unity has been preserved. Indeed Mr. McKim is said to have pronounced the Alabama Capitol an architectural gem. Very wisely State officials have decided not to tinker with the buildings or grounds but have purchased considerable land adjoining the Capitol on which they expect to erect other State buildings since the State departments have already overflowed into scattered quarters. Fortunately the business center is a little removed from the State group and the Capitol is surrounded with vacant land or residential property on three sides.

Montgomery was founded in 1817 under the name of New Philadelphia but was joined two years later with two other settlements under its present name. Though Montgomery was not the first State capital it has the distinction not only of having been capital of Alabama but also for a brief period of the Confederacy.

Alabama has been one of the most progressive of the Southern States in developing State activities. It has an excellent Public Health Service and a most efficient Child Welfare Board. Its land problems can still be solved without great difficulty while its population is not over large. It has a zoning ordinance but no planning commission and no attempt has been made to produce a regional plan.

NASHVILLE

For many years the frontier lingered within the borders of the present State of Tennessee which extends from the mountains on the North Carolina and Virginia boundaries to the Mississippi river. Travel was difficult during the first three

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decades of the national period. Between Knoxville and Nashville land remained in the possession of the Indian tribes until it was purchased strip by strip. The country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers was not open to white settlers until 1818. The constitution of the State of Tennessee was framed in Knoxville in 1796 and up to 1812 the legislature met there with the exception of two days in 1807 when it met in Kingston. One session was held in Nashville in 1912, but from 1819 to 1825 Murfreesboro was the State capital. Since 1826 the legislature has met in Nashville and in 1843 Nashville was declared to be the permanent capital.

The present State Capitol is an excellent building well placed on a high bluff above the Tennessee river but it has become a little dingy from the smoke of the surrounding city. The State offices have overflowed into rented buildings of various sorts facing the Capitol grounds. A memorial State building in classical style in being erected on land in front of the Capitol. A group of public-spirited citizens has urged the State to adopt a more complete and ambitious plan involving the acquiring or controlling of land surrounding the Capitol in order that future expansion might be provided for.

Since Nashville is located in "Middle Tennessee" near the center of the State it would seem to be secure in holding the Capitol. There is, therefore, every reason for adopting a long-range comprehensive plan which shall provide for the necessary growth of both State and city holdings without overlapping and congestion.

FRANKFORT

Kentucky was erected as a State from a county of Virginia. The constitutional convention was held at Danville and the first general Assembly met at Lexington

but Frankfort early became the capital of the State. Frankfort now possesses two Capitol buildings, the old and the new. Fully half a dozen different buildings were occupied temporarily or with permanent intent before the "old Capitol" was built. The old Capitol which is situated in the valley in the center of the town has recently been reopened to accommodate the overflow of State business from the palatial new Capitol erected during the first decade of the present century on a commanding hill overlooking the town and surrounded with extensive grounds. The approach to Frankfort over the range of hills to the west affords a particularly impressive view of the Capitol. Of all the seven Capitols that at Frankfort is by far the largest and most magnificent. It was also the cleanest. The interior marble walls with court stairways and marble balustrades are kept immaculate by a corps of State servants. Facing the main entrance is a dominating bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln.

In many of the State Houses there are guides to show visitors around the building and to point out the works of art. Of the seven Southern capitals the new building at Frankfort seems to be attracting the most attention of the citizens. As in many of the western States pilgrimages are made to visit the State Capitol. Frankfort, of course, is quite accessible from Louisville, Lexington, Covington and other important towns in the State.

Altogether the new Capitol may be said to be "creditable to the wealth, pride and public spirit of the people of Kentucky." The grounds provide room for considerable expansion; but so far no adequate control of the land facing on the Capital grounds seems to have been established. There is no present problem of congestion but it would seem that a

building in which the people of the State have invested nearly two million dollars, occupying a site which is being developed at large expense, situated in a town which exists largely, if not solely, as the State capital, should be worthy of protection from hap-hazard, ill-ordered private development of the property which forms the frame around the picture.

Let us take stock. In every one of the seven capital cities, whether the State House is old or new, the State activities have outgrown the space provided. The monumental domed structure may always appeal to the people as a fitting expression of their State governments, but it seems clear that the expanding business of the important corporations of the States demands more space and housing than can profitably be accommodated in a single classical building. New relationships to the people are being established by State governments. Whether the capital city exists mainly because of its capitalship or whether it is also a commercial metropolis there is every reason for the State to coöperate closely with the city government to develop a capital worthy of the commonwealth. There are also many oppor-

tunities for helpful contacts with the people of the State which State officials have somewhat neglected. The people of the States need better organized representation in the interests of their corporate public good during legislative sessions. They need more frequent contacts with the executive officials on questions of public welfare. There is a great opportunity for State officials to develop in the people a justifiable pride in their State Capitol building and grounds and to make them more familiar with the workings of their State government.

As the States develop special services to their citizens and meet their responsibilities in the fields already established we shall find less tendency to set up further Federal control. Indeed it may well happen that the Federal government will find it possible to retire from some of the administrative functions which it has been obliged to undertake. The society of the future will require many more services than the rather simple organization of the past. The problem is to sift the Federal, State and local responsibilities so that the State wheels cog into the larger and smaller wheels without mechanical or human friction.

GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

This country is less democratic now than it was a hundred and forty years ago. An arresting statement, backed up by William E. Dodd in the October *Virginia Quarterly Review* with a hasty sketch of democracy's checkered career. First won at the Revolution, and then elbowed into the West by planters and merchants of the seaboard, it came back to brief periods of power under Jefferson, Jackson,

and Lincoln, but the professional politician has always managed to get control of its machinery and so continually thwart it. We are faced today with complete lack of control over nominations of candidates, which are made by irresponsible bosses, and with despotic courts that annul the will of the majority almost as they choose and take all responsibility from law-making bodies. A remedy

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would be to set up in some state, for experiment and example, a small legislature with a single house of highly paid men serving long terms, who should appoint all other officials, be subject to recall, and be independent of judicial review. This would make all elections vital and create a body of true democratic statesmen.

The price of free thought, free assemblage, and a free press, as of every other sort of freedom, is eternal vigilance. These days in America are no time to go to sleep on the job. Oswald Garrison Villard describes in the September *Harper's* "The New Fight for Old Liberties" that is being waged against drastic sedition laws, hundred per cent mayors, prejudiced judges, and violent police chiefs by the American Civil Liberties Union and high-minded individuals in almost every state. The battle for the sanctity of the Bill of Rights is not against lawless natives or foreigners but almost wholly against constituted authorities who insist on interpreting it in as narrow a manner as they see fit. It is the part of wisdom as well as of nobility to adhere to the classic theory on which the republic was founded, that given the utmost liberty truth will prevail and error be rejected by the common sense of the people.

These sentiments are echoed with still more forcefulness by John Hunter Sedgwick in the September *North American Review*. "Is the United States Sure of Itself?" he asks, with an eye to the Scopes trial and its contemporary reverberations. It has revealed that freedom of conscience and religious liberty are not so firmly entrenched as we have easily supposed. The spirit of persecution and ecclesiasticism has been in abeyance, but it took only a slight shock to show how near the

surface it still lurked. There is little danger of a formal state church, but we have enlisted the civil power to maintain a purely religious doctrine, and that way lies the clearest sort of popular tyranny over the individual mind. This startling tendency lessens the dignity of religion, debases spiritual things, breaks away from the true American tradition, and shows us to be unworthy the practice of real liberty.

Springing to arms in defense of the eighteenth Amendment and all its fruits, Wayne B. Wheeler, Gifford Pinchot, and nine other exsiccated worthies have filled the pages of the same issue with rhetoric and facts to confound the ten *laudatores temporis acti* who bewailed the present state of the union in the June number. Mr. Wheeler employs the deadly parallel-column method of comparing degenerate Then with idyllic Now, while his confreres, a politician, business man, labor leader, physician, lawyer, minister, economist, teacher, and judge, discourse on prohibition as it appeals to men of their respective temperaments and interests. Cornelia James Cannon, writing of the younger generation, takes the longer-range view that twenty or thirty years will be needed to get prohibition fully enforced, but that when those who are now growing up have to plan the future of their own children they will provide a more thorough protection than we are willing to give.

After a count of some 263,000 noses from every state, *Collier's* proclaims definitely that booze is the victor in the five-year fight for enforcement. The issue for October 10 contains the last of a series of articles by William G. Shepherd giving the result of a nation-wide answer to these three questions: Are you satisfied with

present conditions; Is the law enforced in your locality; If not, do you consider the law enforceable? To the first question 68 per cent answered No; to the second 61.2 per cent No; and to the third 60.9 per cent Yes. The conclusion appears to be that the country is still wet, that a considerable majority want it dry, but that a large minority despair of prohibition enforcement as it now is. Maryland, Delaware, and the national capital lead in wetness, while Kansas, Maine, and Colorado are the driest states. . . . F. Ernest Johnson, who issued the Federal Council of Churches arresting report on prohibition, tells in the *Survey* for October 1 "What's To Be Done About It": less emphasis on force and more on coöperative citizenship.

Is the solution to be found in the new Stockholm system of Sweden that has lately replaced the Gothenberg system? That country is now "A Sober Wet-Land," declares Howard Mingos in the October *Forum*, where everybody who wants to drink in moderation and here is no denial of personal liberty. The sale of liquor has been turned over to some hundred and fifty local private monopolies, all of whose profits over 5 per cent annually revert to the state. A similar monopoly brews, distills, or imports all supplies. The local companies control public and home consumption by means of coupon books issued to responsible adults, which must be used for purchases in retail stores or restaurants. In the past two years the use of intoxicants has decreased by 30 per cent; and drinking has been transformed from a crime into one of the fine arts.

Behind all the occasions and apparent causes of war lies the passion of men for land. The most fundamental of hu-

man needs are food and standing room, which only the earth can provide. So far, by invention and organization, man has succeeding in evading the natural law of stationary population, and during the past century has increased marvelously both in numbers and well-being. But this increase cannot keep up indefinitely. We shall never be able to free ourselves from dependence on the soil, and as the period of diminishing returns sets in our periodic wars will become more and more bitter. "The Land-Hunger Urge to War," as seen by Henry Pratt Fairchild in the September number of the same magazine, can be counteracted only by controlling population so that it will follow the production of food rather than crowd it to the limit.

On the other hand, it appears to the biologist that war is less a matter of economic forces or race hatred than of the ductless glands. Human nature being determined by chromosomes, our hereditary instinct for wholesale slaughter is strong enough to withstand a good many generations of education in pacifism. Man, alone of all the animals, acquired the habit of fighting with his fellows because he found no competitive species superior to himself. War is as normal a condition as peace, though occurring oftener under autocratic rule than under democracy. It is essentially geographic in nature, and no group of people, were outside enemies to be removed, would remain long at peace with themselves. Hence the League of Nations can never include more than half the actual power in the world without flying apart. These disheartening considerations on "The Biology of War," by Frederick Adams Woods in the following issue, indicate that for a good while longer we shall have to fear God and take our own part.

Wide attention has been given to Richard Washburn Child's series of articles on the deluge of crime which have been running through August, September, and October in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "The Great American Scandal," he calls it. We have no exact figures, but popular fear and high insurance rates give some clue to its enormity. It is to be blamed not on the war but on low-grade immigration, the dwindling of home life, the license of youth, farcical court procedure, and our wretched sentimentality toward offenders. Most criminals are young boys from broken homes; the responsibility for their careers lies largely on parents. Citizens themselves can do much by cooperating with the authorities, taking reasonable care of their persons and property, calling blackmailers' bluffs, and serving willingly on juries. We blame the police, but our cities are ill protected, most of the force being engaged with traffic or bootleggers. A national unified system of information, supplemented by official detective agencies, is the crying need.

Due in part to this inquiry, a National Crime Commission was recently formed through the efforts of Mark O. Prentiss. Crime is organized, he points out in the leading article of *Current History* for October, and the public which needs protection is apathetic. Criminals go unpunished because of our obsolete penal laws, the low type of criminal lawyers, and the setting aside of convictions by higher courts on absurd technicalities. In New York one out of 160 murderers goes to the chair, and in Chicago six policemen are killed for every murderer hanged. Sentimental reformers are turning our jails into country clubs and health resorts. The commission has for its program the gathering and tabulating of

statistics on crime, closing the mails and interstate commerce to firearms that can be concealed on the person, assembling the finger-prints of all criminals in a central information bureau, and having all immigrants finger-printed on their arrival and deported after their first prison sentence.

One of the first surveys of crime statistics in this country, which covers some 12,000 cases on the court dockets of five Georgia counties, has been made by the Department of Public Welfare of that state. Its findings appear in a long tabular analysis from the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* for August. Criminal law in Georgia is as sound organically as it ever was, but weak, and a long period of observation will be necessary before it can be intelligently strengthened. The chief result was to show accurately for the first time the amount of increase in crime between 1916 and 1921, and what specific crimes had increased. Owing to meager court records little social or family data could be secured, and the survey resolved itself largely into a study of the administration of justice.

The habitual criminal is a human being like ourselves who has learned his profession after a long and painful apprenticeship. The community is his teacher. Broken or insufficient homes, the idle or vicious street gang, the deadening repression of juvenile institutions and reform schools, prison with its bitter reality and compensating memories of freedom, then the gang again and new crime—these are the schools in which society compels the unstable youth to learn. Our present method of dealing with the offender is a futile exercise in despair and bad humor. Crime is not a metaphysical principle to be rooted out by severe punishment; it

results from the natural habits and interests of people whose behavior is unsocial. We cannot get at the root of it until we treat the whole personality of the man and not one arbitrary act. So Frank Tannenbaum on "The Professional Criminal" in the *September Century*.

A science of political psychology is perhaps forecasted by a study of "Motives in Voting" which Norman C. Meier contributes to the *American Journal of Sociology* for September. The mechanism of public opinion was tested by listing the reasons given by 1088 persons for voting as they did in the last presidential election. Their answers, when translated into psychological terms, are far from flattering to the sovereign judgment of *voeis populi*. The four chief motives are found to be self-interest, sympathy, fear, and safety. Almost all Republican replies can be resolved into one of these four classes, while most of those favoring the other parties are rational, mixed, or impossible to classify. The result appears to explain the success of practical politicians in appealing to the simpler, less thoughtful, and more selfish motives of human character.

No attempt to set up a universal theory of the state has ever succeeded. The chief modern "Methods of Political Reasoning," as analysed by William Seal Carpenter in the following paper, are the historical analogy, the deduction from first principles, and the use of statistics. The first method may be typified in

Madison's arguments during the Constitutional Convention, and the second in the enlightened self-interest of Bentham's philosophy, the third in Jevon's insistence on using recent experience alone as a guide to legislation. This method has now superseded the vicious influence of individualism during most of the nineteenth century. But the data of politics need to be related to every other social fact before they can be applied intelligently, and sociology should attempt a new logic through which discoveries in any social science may be made available for use in another.

"Are Women a Failure in Politics?" Emily Newell Blair, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, answers for those who are in the game themselves. They have passed no laws, she says, changed no party procedure, been elected or appointed to few offices. No woman has any influence because she is a woman. The earlier suffragists foresaw this, that as voters they would be judged as human beings and not lumped together as a unselfish sex that was to bring in the millennium. The great women's organizations are not feminine blocs but groups of new citizens who elect candidates on political issues rather than because of sex. The real victory of women is that womanhood no longer counts against them as office-holders. And the fact that some of them are holding office successfully, even though most of the offices have been reserved for them, is not a bad showing for five years of suffrage.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE WAGE-SYSTEM AND FAMILY SURVIVAL

WARREN S. THOMPSON

THE present wage-system is based on the theory that one's remuneration for work should correspond to the economic value of the work done. But underlying this theory there is the implied assumption that the chief end of man is to produce economic goods. Even most of the radicals have accepted this implicit assumption while violently objecting to the concrete expression of the theory in the award of income to the laboring classes. The advocates of a "living wage" and those who believe that income distribution is unjust at present also accept the classical theory that productivity should determine income if only a few minor modifications are made.

Recently, however, an attack has been made on this basic position of the classical economists. There is a disposition to say that the individual can no longer be considered merely a labor unit to be recompensed in accordance with the amount of his product. The individual is first and foremost a human being having certain racial relations and obligations and that these must also be taken into account in allotting income. Thus we find many people advocating the "family wage", "family allowances", "family allotments", etc. Though most of the advocates of such a change in our wage system are not clearly aware of it, they are making an assumption which is

directly opposed to that of classical economics and are resting a new wage-theory on this implicit assumption. This assumption is that more complete human living is the chief end of man—not economic production—and as a consequence their theory of income is that it should be allotted not solely or chiefly as the reward for economic production, but with the view of increasing the fullness and completeness of human life.

It is not my intention to argue the economic feasibility of a family allowance system, nor to discuss the ethical aspects of such a system; these matters are receiving considerable attention at the hands of economists and philosophers. Further, I shall not discuss this system from the standpoint of its effects upon the political and military position of the nation. These are receiving a great deal of attention in some of the European countries where the system is being tried out. I shall devote my attention here chiefly to the effects of such a system upon family survival and hence upon the processes of population growth.¹

¹ It may be well to call attention to the fact that until the modern industrial age, income has always taken the form of a family income because women and children have been accustomed to contribute directly to the support of the family by their hunting, fishing, or agricultural work. Only with the advent of modern factory production and a money economy has there been a tendency to shift the major part of the burden of the family support to one worker engaged directly in productive operations.

In order to be free to pass at once to the discussion of the effects of the present wage-system and a family wage-system upon family survival and hence upon the processes of population growth, I shall make four assumptions: (1) That changing the method of remuneration from the present basis to the basis of a family wage would involve no additional wage burden on industry. This assumption involves no judgment regarding the sufficiency of present wage and salary payments to individuals or as a whole; it assumes nothing regarding the ability of industry to meet additional payments of any kind for these purposes. (2) The second assumption is that it is for the good of the community to encourage all families not recognized as being of distinctly undesirable stock to raise enough children to replace the parents, make good the inevitable failure of a certain few people to reproduce, and add such numbers to the population as can be supported, in what would generally be regarded as a desirable mode of living. (3) In the third place it will be assumed that, under the present system of remuneration, children are an *economic* burden to the great majority of people, especially a burden in the cities, but increasingly so in the country. (4) The fourth assumption I shall make is to the effect that the processes of selection for survival actually operating in any community tend to favor the survival of those who are best adapted to the *total* situation in which the different individuals and groups find themselves.

The first three of these assumptions will probably arouse little protest as a basis for the argument I shall present. The fourth will undoubtedly be objected to by many people. It will be pointed out that many of the people who are judged conspicuously successful today are failing to reproduce while many who are com-

monly thought of as failures are not only reproducing but are multiplying at a rapid rate. My reply to this is that nature (and by "nature" I mean merely the organization of forces governing life) knows but one criterion of successful adaptation and that is survival. But the adaptation that is successful and secures survival is adaptation to a *total* situation, not adaptation to one particular aspect or phase of a situation. Thus it has frequently happened in the course of evolution that some species or variety has perished, although certain of its organs were very highly and complexly developed, because it could not make the necessary adaptations to meet the total of the conditions essential to survival. Nature does not give credit for a partial adaptation if it is so specialized that it hinders or fails to assist the species or group to meet the whole situation with which it is confronted. Men are no more exempt from the necessity of adapting themselves to the total situation than other animals. They have more or less control over the conditions to which they must adapt themselves but as soon as a given custom, habit, institution, or other set of man-made environmental conditions becomes a fact, it is a part of the total situation to which adaptation must be made. Man's modifications of his environment alter the processes of natural selection for him but they do not render him exempt from the operations of natural selection nor do they necessarily render its processes less rigorous for him.

The processes of natural selection as thus understood may or may not be such as we would judge beneficial to the progress of the nation or race. If we believe that they are harmful, in the long run, it behooves us to undertake the modification of the conditions governing survival, or to so change man's responses to a given

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set of conditions that the survival product will be different. It is useless, indeed childish, to suppose that if only man had not meddled with natural selection all would be well. Ever since man became man he has persistently meddled with his environment and those groups or races which have been unable either to modify their environment to their possibilities of response or have been unwilling to make the response necessary to secure survival have died out. The same processes are in operation today and the principles of survival are the same. Men must either respond to environment in appropriate ways to secure survival or they must perish. Thus it seems to me the fourth assumption above, viz., that those people are surviving who are best adapted to the *total* situation in which they live, is really an axiom, a truism, which only those who have not fully grasped the meaning of *natural selection* will deny.

It is because anything as important as the basis on which real incomes are received by almost all workers, except farmers, is a very potent force in determining the processes of natural selection today, and because I believe the present processes could be made much more beneficial to man if this basis were changed, that I am in favor of undertaking a reorganization of the wages-system in the direction of a family wage or allowance. The present wages-system clearly penalizes most parents who raise even a small family (one or two children) and bears still more hardly upon those who raise fair-sized families (three or four children) and works real hardship on almost all large families (five children or more).

I have assumed above that the raising of a fair-sized family is an economic burden to most parents; lest it be thought

I exaggerate, it may not be out of place here to point out: (a) That almost no employer of labor makes any discrimination in wages or salaries between men who have children and those who have none. (b) That more rent will be charged for the same apartment or house if there are children than if there are none. (c) That promotion often comes more rapidly to the man who does not have the distractions and worries of children than to one who does. (d) That opportunities to make useful personal contacts in business and in the professions come more readily to the unmarried or childless man than to men of family. (e) That many organizations deliberately hire unmarried and childless men in preference to family men so that the consciences of the executives need not be disturbed when laying-off men or in times of strike, etc. But these are the lesser handicaps. It is the housing, feeding, clothing, and education of children that constitute the greatest economic burden on parents.

It is my belief that the present system of penalizing people who have children furthers a process of selection which is both biologically and socially harmful. It is socially harmful in that it causes a loss of interest in community activities, not directly economic in nature, on the part of a great many people who do not have children because of these economic penalties. It is biologically harmful in that many people who would contribute to the next generation if these penalties were removed, but are not now doing so, are people with very excellent hereditary qualities which the society of the future will need. This is not equivalent to saying, as many are now doing, that our best stock biologically is dying out, nor that only those of lower grade intelligence are now contributing to the increase of population. Both of these positions are ex-

treme and are unsupported by an adequate body of facts. I do not mean proof is lacking that the upper economic and social classes, as a whole, are failing to propagate themselves nor that the lower classes have fairly large families. I do mean, however, that the individual attainment of success is not a sufficient proof of the presence of socially desirable hereditary traits. It is quite within the bounds of reason to believe that there is not even any considerable degree of correlation between the attainment of economic success above the average and the possession of an hereditary endowment of value to society now and in the future.

But even if we do not assume a high social value in the hereditary endowments of all the successful in our present social system yet we can scarcely suppose that the ambitious and successful classes as a whole do not contain a great many individuals who have socially desirable qualities that are never brought into play and are not propagated simply because the economic disabilities placed upon those who raise children are greater than they will bear. People will endure considerable inconveniences and hardships if they are inevitable or are customarily sanctioned by the social groups in which they move. As matters now stand, children are neither inevitable nor is the raising of a fair-sized family regarded as a customary function of a married couple, among the upper classes at least, and in considerable parts of the Western World. On the other hand, to plead economic hardship is deemed a fully sufficient excuse by most of those who feel some compunction because of their avoidance of family obligations wholly or in part. It should be observed, too, that the economic disabilities of parents lie at the root of many other restrictions on their freedom. The opportunity for travel,

reading, and certain kinds of cultured self-development of men and women is seriously curtailed by the very fact that they are parents; while in nearly all cases the woman is necessarily tied to the home for a good many years by a fair-sized family. In these respects, as well as in many others which the reader will readily think of, the present basis of wage payment economically favors those who do not raise families or raise only small families and the full approval of the community is in no wise contingent upon one's participation in the rearing of the next generation.

If we grant that this situation exists as described, then we should ask ourselves what kind of an influence it is likely to exert upon the biological selection going on in present day society. Before attempting to answer this question, it will be necessary to make some observations on changes in the processes of population growth which are taking place today. The first of these is that the birth rate in times past has not been so selective in character as it is coming to be today. This is due to the fact that in times past, within marriage, the number of births has generally been determined by physiological possibilities rather than by the desires and interests of the parents as is increasingly the case today. Consequently such selective influence as was exerted through the birth rate was formerly due chiefly to abstention from marriage. Today in most industrialized countries the birth rate is rapidly becoming highly selective. I shall assume, therefore, in my discussion of present day conditions, that births are the result of selective factors, taking more and more the form of voluntary control, in a considerable portion of the population (perhaps one-third to one-half in industrialized countries). The second observation is that death,

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which has been the greatest selective agency in all past ages, although still a very powerful agent, can only act upon the material furnished it through births and consequently its importance may be greatly modified as births become more fully selected and as reasonably good medical service becomes available to all. In the future, therefore, we shall need to pay increasing attention to the selective processes determining births.

It is my contention that the present methods of allotting income, by unduly penalizing people with children, is an uncertain selective agency from the point of view of national and racial welfare, because it cannot but discourage many people from becoming parents who could contribute very desirable additions to the population. It should be observed I am not claiming that the present income-yielding system is the sole offender in the selective process, only that it is an important offender and as such should be studied carefully to see if changes could not be made which would work for the biological and social welfare of the race as well as for its economic welfare. (I grant that the present wages-system does the latter because I do not wish to raise that question here; I do not believe it is germane to this discussion.)

Enough has already been said to indicate at least the probability that many people who have desirable qualities from every standpoint and who would like to have several children are discouraged therefrom by the economic handicap they must suffer by doing so. The question must be raised, however, whether people who are thus easily discouraged from having children when they both want them and feel it is a duty to have them do not lack certain qualities of independence, whether they are not rather easily seduced from following out the most clearly expressed demands of nature,

whether they are not unduly sensitive to the hardships of family life and whether they are not lacking in a fundamental faith in life itself which would carry them over many of these material obstacles if it was basic and of normal strength. Also one is inclined to wonder whether too great a preoccupation with the material conditions of safety and comfort both for oneself and one's family does not indicate an inherited leaning in a direction which nature (that is, the conditions under which we must live) clearly disapproves. At least it seems clear that a great many of the very prudent in this respect are failing to reproduce themselves and this indicates a failure in adaptation. Such a failure, of course, incurs nature's extreme penalty—extinction. It seems to me highly unfortunate that the generally accepted conception of success is based on the outworn notion of the nature of evolution which Spencer did so much to popularize, viz., that adaptation consisted chiefly in those adjustments of the individual to the conditions of life which would insure his personal survival and success. It is clear that life is a process and that the individual's part in this process may very easily be exaggerated. What chiefly matters is whether the species so adjusts itself to the conditions of existence that it allows a large measure of personal development at the same time that it makes certain of its survival. Any mode of living on the part of the individual which is inconsistent with this racial ideal will not only lead to the extinction of the individual but may also lead to the downfall of any given civilization if this mode of living is widespread in any society. The future belongs to the descendants of those who find scope for a relatively full development of their powers in their environment.

It is my own belief that some handicaps

to personal success as judged by one's neighbors and acquaintances will always be involved in the rearing of children; also that it is not desirable that all these should be removed. I believe that a certain fundamental antagonism exists between personal success and racial survival which is valuable as a selective influence. Those who cannot subordinate self to the extent necessary to participate in racial propagation when not laboring under undue handicaps, (where participation is within their control) probably have little or nothing *racially* worth while passing on. This may seem a harsh judgment but it should be remembered that in all ages society has been able to use but few extreme individualists and there is no good reason to think that it has been the loser by their failure to leave descendants.

To express the same idea in another way, I would ask whether people who care more for the accumulation of wealth, fame, or some other conventional type of success, who believe that nothing is worth sacrificing self-culture to, who feel that travel is more essential than children, who believe in "safety first" in every respect, and who consider personal comfort and luxury the *summum bonum*, do not create a presumption by their conduct that they have little of the urge in them to participation in a broader community life and consequently have little to contribute to children biologically or socially which would be likely to further the process of human, as contrasted with individual or personal, development? I realize, of course, that there are many seemingly fortuitous circumstances which determine the direction of individual development. But may it not be that what seems quite fortuitous to most observers is really the expression of a subtle interplay of hereditary endowment and

environmental conditions which, after all, tells us much of the inherited character of the individual. In a larger sense nothing is fortuitous. All choices in one's life are the consequences of one's total experience; beginning with the earliest choices of babyhood and proceeding throughout life each choice is the resultant of antecedent experience co-operating with the present circumstances. Always the hereditary endowment enters as an integral part of each choice, and through the unity of experience, plays an indirect as well as a direct part in the determination of each subsequent choice.

A priori, therefore, one would expect to find that seemingly similar conditions of living would result in different choices in different individuals as well as like choices. A series of different choices results in the formation of a different character and gives a different outlook on life and all this must arise in many cases from the fundamental hereditary differences between people in the first instance. That one cannot see this in his own case does not in the least invalidate the truth of this general position.

The application of this truth to the situation we are now studying is easy to make. People start in life with somewhat different aptitudes and of course live under somewhat different conditions, even within the same family, to say nothing of the same class. The whole situation surrounding people tends to mould them but it moulds them differently. It is here that the *milieu* exerts its selective influence. Under what seems like much the same urge one man remains a bachelor and devotes his energy solely to the attainment of success in law, medicine, business, or what-not; another marries and does the same, either raising no family or a small family; still another marries and strives for success while carrying a family

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burden not carried by either of the others. It is my contention that in the process of selection going on here, the elimination in general is of those who are less fit to further human welfare as contrasted with individual welfare even as the wage-system is now organized, but that the selection would be even more socially beneficial if the greater part of the economic handicap of participation in the larger life of the community, which for most of us is inevitably bound up with the rearing of children, were removed.

I have found in studying the size of families of such homogeneous groups of people as those who send their children to particular colleges that there is a wide variation in the number of children in different families and even within the same general occupational groups there are wide differences. It seems to me, therefore, that there is at least as much reason to assume that natural selection is at work here, choosing some for survival and eliminating others, as that these differences in number of children are all the result of environment, or are purely fortuitous.

This position would probably be granted by many who would nevertheless question whether this process of selection is for the best. I have indicated above that I believe many factors having little or nothing to do with general fitness enter into this survival process but even when these are allowed for, it seems to me there has probably been too little appreciation of the selective nature of the forces determining survival within given classes. There has been a very general disposition of the part of people discussing the survival of different classes in the population due to differential birth rate to lump all the people in certain occupations, or income groups, together as though they were of equal value biologically and then

to infer from the general condition of the class the effect upon the population. I would point out that it is more reasonable to suppose that the selective process is just as operative within these occupational and income classes as between classes. Furthermore, when we find 60 to 70 per cent of the families from which college students come, not only propagating themselves but adding an increment to the population, may it not well be that the most desirable socially are those who are surviving? Those who do not choose to survive (the celibates and the married who are childless or whose children are too few to replace them) may be the people who are least fitted to make useful adaptations to the needs of community life and consequently have little to contribute to the development of a more satisfying human existence. Again I would emphasize the fact that while I believe the process of selection now in operation is exceedingly faulty, yet I do think that it weeds out many of those who are too self-centered to be willing to participate in all phases of community life. But I also believe that by altering the wage-system we could improve the selection to some slight degree and this seems to me to be highly desirable. Anything which impedes the selection of those best adapted to contribute to better human living should certainly be changed if it is possible to do so.

We are told over and over again that much of our best stock is dying out because of the economic hardships encountered in raising children. As I have said above, I believe this view is greatly exaggerated. The greater proportion of the people in the upper economic and social classes who have children are propagating themselves in spite of these handicaps. It is my belief that it is also the better part, from the standpoint of

community and racial welfare. However, I think that we need to test the truth of this belief. We need to eliminate to a considerable extent the direct *economic* cost of children to their parents before we can tell just how far the declining birth rate in particular classes is economic in its motivation. This seems to me the more necessary because we are continually being told how much more productive is the highly organized work of urban industry than the less highly organized family work on farms, and yet when the higher birth rate of the farmer class is pointed out the explanation is that city people cannot afford children as well as farmers. There is something fallacious in this line of reasoning. The elimination of a large part of the economic cost of children from the income one would otherwise have to spend on himself will show us how far factors not primarily economic in nature enter into the determination of the size of families of different people, and will enable us to study these factors with a view to ascertaining the desirability of their propagation. The thing that seems to me particularly objectionable in our present system is that the economic situation of the individual should be the determining factor in the processes of family survival and consequently in population growth. Such an income system as we now have subordinates the biological development of the race to the productivity of the economic system. This seems to me a perversion of the natural order. Of course, like most perversions, it will in time cure itself no doubt by eliminating those from the population who place economic values above all others. If it only did this I should be heartily in favor of the continuance of the present income system, but I am inclined to believe that it also tends to eliminate a good many whose natural inclinations

are not towards the over-valuation of the economic factors in life but who are drawn into the current of economic competition in its most subversive form, where the attainment of economic and social success is valued more than survival, against their better judgment because of the persistent and subtle pressure of environment in this direction.

Lest I should give the impression that I regard economic conditions as the sole factor in determining the size of controlled families, I wish to make it clear that I believe many people think this is the reason for their biological failure when it is not really the basic cause. Many people are no doubt afraid of the responsibilities involved in raising a family, many are unwilling to sacrifice more than a minimum of their own pleasures and ease to the next generation, many people find children a handicap to social success, fame, notoriety, free movement, etc., but think it ignoble to avow such motives and so complain of the economic handicap. A change in the income-system probably would not induce such people to raise larger families than at present, but it would remove the mask from them so that the motives really responsible for their biological failure would stand forth. We could then judge whether it was desirable to try to hold forth inducements sufficient to lead them to propagate or whether it was better to encourage their present attitudes and thus hasten their elimination. My own feeling is that the world will be a better place to live in some generations hence if it is peopled with the descendants of those who place human values first and who believe that they have a duty to fulfill to the future as well as a personal success to attain in the present. As matters stand today we have too many people who seem to believe that personal success is the

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As was said above, it would probably not be wise to remove the economic handicap of children entirely because it will help to select those best adapted to parenthood and those who will pass on biologically and by precept the desire for human values as well as economic values. If ever the race is to develop its mental and spiritual capacities it may be necessary to eliminate a large part of those dominating individuals who come to the top so easily when sheer force means success and when this force is used chiefly to insure economic ascendancy. Thus the dying out of those greedy of power and wealth may prove a blessing to the race, but it seems to me that as things now stand many people of finer grain are so dominated by the economic considerations ascendant today that they are deterred from propagating. It is for the salvation of these that I should like to see a new wage-system developed. Those unduly greedy for power and wealth will probably die out just as rapidly under a family wage system as under the present one. Thus

we could retain all the selective value of the present system while devising a new one which would bear less heavily upon some of the less robust devotees serving at the altar of economic and professional success only because of their sensitiveness to the weight of handicaps they suffer. This, it seems to me, would be well worth striving for.

I am fully aware that it will not be an easy thing to devise an income-system which will remove the economic handicap of a fair-sized family but if it seems that the quality of the race can be improved thereby, the difficulty of the undertaking cannot long stand in its way. If it is proper to speak of a purpose of man's capacities, it is surely the purpose of his capacity for thought to enable him to meet difficult situations and adapt himself to them insofar as he cannot modify them to his notion of the desirable. It is the chief characteristic of science that it sees any situation as a challenge to man's ingenuity to understand it and control it. The customary, the usual, the vested interest as such has no scientific standing. Once the end is determined upon it is the function of science to seek the means of control. This is just as true of social science as it is of other science. I conceive then there will be no insuperable difficulty in devising a method of altering our income system in any direction once it is deemed desirable to do so.

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THE POSITION OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

WILLIAM ORTON

WHILE popular attention, in its everlasting search for the spectacular, has centered mainly on the effect of the labor movement on British politics, those on the inside, knowing how limited this could be under the circumstances, have had a more interesting field for speculation in the effect of political experience on the labor movement. It is now just over six years since the party became definitely socialist: six years of swift and perhaps disconcerting change. From 61 members of Parliament in the 1918 election, the strength of the party grew to 142 in 1922 and 185 in 1923; when it first became the official opposition party, and then in January, 1924 took over the government as a minority bloc. The October election of last year, reducing the party to 152 members, set it back to its former place as His Majesty's Opposition, where it seems likely to remain for some time; the Independent Liberal party having declined in the six years from 160 to 40.

In a general way it is known that the complexion of the labor movement has been changing. For two years after the war the current favored industrial rather than political action; but with the defeat of the miners in 1920 and the continuance of the trade depression the swing back towards political action set in and has so far continued. That two years however saw the start of a distinct reaction against the Fabian state socialism of the 1918 programme and a spread of syndicalist or guild socialist principles; while more recently there has been a slump—not so pronounced but clearly perceptible, and indeed admitted—in guild theories without any marked reassertion of belief in the orthodox creed.

The present situation therefore finds the movement probably less clear as to fundamentals than it has been for many years past, and the confusion is well illustrated in the three books before us.¹ They are all recent as far as the dates go: Mr. Macdonald's was written in 1921 and carries footnotes referring to developments up to 1923; the addresses collected by Mr. Hogue were delivered mostly in the summer of that year; the manifesto of the seven anonymous members of the party was issued in the fall of 1924. But there is a wide divergence of views, especially between Mr. Macdonald and his restive supporters.

In a recent public discussion, Winston Churchill—now Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Conservative ministry—stood forth as exponent of British liberalism against the then Chancellor, Mr. Snowden, as representing British socialism. The latter's reply began with the remark that if one were to substitute the word socialism for liberalism in the Churchill programme "we should have a statement of socialist policy to which no socialist could take much exception." How far that is from being the case the manifesto of the seven members shows; but put the other way round, the statement comes very near the truth. Socialism of the Macdonald-Snowden school is in fact, for practical purposes, simply the logical development of the British liberal tradition. Macdonald's book contains nothing that an open-minded liberal would not accept.

¹ *Socialism, Critical and Constructive*. By Ramsay MacDonald. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1924, V, 297 pp. \$3.50.

The Labor Party's Aim. By Seven Members of the Labor Party. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, 96 pp. \$1.00.

British Labor Speaks. R. W. Hogue, ed. New York: Boni and Liveright, X, 272 pp. \$2.00.

The difference is—to quote Snowden again—

That while socialists believe in community ownership and control of the necessities of life, the liberals do not accept this as a theory or aim in its full implications, but are willing to consider particular applications of the principle.

Exactly: and it is significant that the moment the labor government (in the case of the Russian treaties) went beyond the strictly business attitude to particular cases in order to follow general principles, the country turned against it.

The truth is that—accepting Snowden's definition—Britain is overwhelmingly liberal rather than socialist. Macdonald knows this and as a practical politician has the courage to face the fact; but his sincerity cannot but render his attitude unsatisfactory to his more doctrinaire followers. On the critical side his book is the best his school has produced—especially the section of it dealing with production. He is trenchant but consistently fair. He never loses his head. He never allows himself—as even the Webbs have done—to be swept off the ground of fact and actuality by a wave of excitement. And he knows how to write. But the cautious realist temper of the Scot makes the book remarkable for the things it avoids saying. There is no admission, for instance, of the unqualified right of the worker to "work or maintenance;" nor even of the claim that "the maintenance of the worker should be the first charge upon industry." The principle of nationalization is advocated only for "industries like coal-mining or railway working;" while the guild socialists are dismissed with a curt allusion to "the confusion which would follow the adoption of their fanciful political structures." No wonder the seven members revolted!

It is a revolt. The statements of Mac-

donald and Snowden are censured as inadequate. There is a direct attack on the "dead hand of reformist ideals" and a determined effort to restate a body of "fundamental principles." Here is a sample of the attempt at its crudest: "Wealth is power and opportunity; private enterprise is dependent on inequality of wealth; private enterprise is not therefore compatible with equality of opportunity." A natural result is the reappearance of what (unfortunately) may be called the religious attitude towards socialism: that is, the tendency to argue from a priori principles to what a "genuinely socialist" society "must" or "will" do if it is to come within the pale. The reasoning is often sound; but that is not the point. The point is that in this order of statement lies all the difference between liberalism (including the Macdonald type of socialism) and radicalism. There lies the real cleavage now coming to light in the labor movement itself, and destined in all probability to reproduce the traditional alignment.

The divergence is perhaps clearest in the matter of the League of Nations. Macdonald's visit to Geneva while in office marked the climax of his prestige, and his party was glad enough to take the credit; but listen to the seven members:

The end we have in view is a World Council, with defined executive and administrative and judicial functions. If the existing League can be made into such a body, the new organization may be easier to establish; but the League as it stands may possibly prove to be one of the chief obstacles to real internationalism, partly because of its defective machinery, partly because of the incompetent old gentlemen who control it.

The League is now the prime issue of British liberalism and is likely so to remain—unless Mr. Baldwin is foolish enough to revive the party by a return to overt protectionism. Macdonald's atti-

tude placed him definitely with the moderates of his group who put the class war second to national policy, and the left wing grew more and more "touchy" as his parliamentary tactics confirmed this position. It was the more unfortunate that the divergence between him and his Chancellor on this latter point (now fairly common knowledge) took so sharp a turn. But the breach between Macdonald and the Left arose fundamentally neither on tactics nor even principles: in the last analysis it is a matter of temper and psychology.

Macdonald and the greater part of his Cabinet thought, acted, and probably felt, in line with that intangible thing, the "tone of the House"—which is in no way a party phenomenon. But their supporters included a minority—such as, to name only two, Jack Jones and George Lansbury—who were, and are, at war with it; and it was from these that the front bench experienced most trouble. A recent article by Bertrand Russell (*New Republic*, December 31, 1924) aptly illustrates the difference. "There are" says Mr. Russell "in British politics a number of 'gentlemanly' traditions which have been gradually moulded into a form in which they are admirably adapted to safeguard the incomes of 'gentlemen.'" Among them the author cites the tradition that a Minister must stand by his permanent officials; and Macdonald is blamed for doing precisely this in the matter of the Zinoviev letter and thereby "letting down his followers." Further, says Mr. Russell,

A Minister by the fact of his position, profits by social inequality. He sees the King, he dines

with rich men, he is exposed in a thousand ways to suggestion of a reactionary sort. Unless he is a man of very unusual strength of character, this makes him forget the poorer sections of the population, by whose votes he has climbed to power. Those who are at the top can hardly be expected to make very vigorous efforts to abolish or diminish social inequality. It is difficult to see how to deal with this problem except by diminishing the autonomy of leaders.

That is an excellent illustration of the temper of the radical wing with which the present leaders of the British Labor Party have to contend. As to which element will win there can be little doubt. The "tone" of its political institutions is a well-marked psychological manifestation of the national group as a whole, predetermining for all alike the bounds of effective party or parliamentary strategy. But naturally it is harder for the radical than for any other man to recognise the limits placed upon his tactics by the facts of political psychology. And that is why the extreme left in a democracy like the British so frequently acts as a recruiting ground for the old "safe" parties.

Mr. Hogue's volume is already somewhat dated. The utterances of the various speakers here reproduced were all made before the advent of the labor government, and tend naturally to deal with issues current at the time. Further, the group includes a bishop and two liberal employers who are not strictly identifiable with "British labor." Several of the statements are however of some historical value, while others, like those of Macdonald, Snowden and G. D. H. Cole, unconsciously forecast difficulties which subsequent events have brought into rather painful light.

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GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The staggering total of waste in modern life would, if converted to use by a functional society, utterly abolish poverty. There are the wastes of production, through the useless multiplying of styles and sizes, lack of coördination between manufacturing and selling, and restriction of output to force higher prices or stave off unemployment. There are wastes of consumption in war, harmful drugs, prostitution, adulterated goods, gambling, luxuries, and fashions in dress, with immense overhead in business, government, and insurance. Advertising, which employs half a million more people than it should merely to transfer purchasing power without creating anything, is a fantastic extravagance. And our squandering of natural resources—coal, petroleum, timber, farm lands, fisheries—has been a national disgrace. Stuart Chase, in five articles from the *New Republic* beginning with the August 5 issue, has marshalled an overwhelming array of facts and figures to prove "The Tragedy of Waste." Will the engineering business man ever supersede the stock-and-bond business man we boast today?

A new profession, likely to increase greatly in importance, is that of the industrial judge. W. M. Leiserson, chairman of the Board of Arbitration for the men's clothing industry of Chicago, is one of its outstanding members. The September *Atlantic* records five of the most interesting cases from his docket, told with a sympathetic humor and imagination that is not common in the history of labor relations. To say merely that brotherhood will solve the mutual problems of employer and employees is too simple, for even when both sides are

trying to act fairly and honestly the technique of brotherhood is by no means easy to discover or apply. But out of the hundreds of disputes thus decided every day a common standard of industrial justice is slowly being achieved.

Labor laws for women are a relic of medieval discrimination which classes them with children and others who are not fit to bear equal burdens with men. Such laws work practical hardship in reducing pay and opportunity for advancement, and in encouraging women to attempt two jobs at once, the industrial and the domestic. So argues Rheta Childe Dorr in *Good Housekeeping* for September; while Mary Anderson dismisses these arguments as false loyalty to a principle of equality that can never be realized in fact. Life requires of women duties from which men are exempt, and actual improvements in their working conditions come only through laws framed for them alone, which protect their children as well and enable women to fill adequately their unique position in the social structure.

The *Forum* stages another of its pertinent debates in the September issue on whether profit is essential to business. Jerome Davis, careful to distinguish true surplus from reward for service or interest on investment, holds that the profit motive encourages cut-throat commercial warfare, inhuman labor policies, waste, and the gambling spirit. Our prosperity has come in spite of it, and by producing for use rather than for excessive gain we can erect a more successful and satisfying industrial order. To Julius Bache, however, profits are the one motivating force

of industry. In the long run they are never great; they are necessary to reward energy, foresight, and executive ability; and to abolish them would be to give up private property and all progress. Until man has been set free from work, and has power without cost through the release of atomic energy, they must continue to dominate his economic life.

"What Price Organization?" asks Jesse R. Sprague in the September *Scribner's*, and replies that this national passion often amounts to philanthropy by blackmail and foreign trade by fantastic advertising methods that make us ridiculous outside our own borders. The purpose of our go-getting executive secretaries, with their palatial headquarters and resounding annual conventions, is efficiency, which is to say, economy; but their result so far has been to saddle the public with mounting overhead and bring the glorious American standard of living a shade nearer the deadline. Some day things are going to change: the hodcarrier will not always drive to work in his super-six, nor will the farmer be able to drowse his winters away in Florida. When our lavish natural resources are gone we shall have to compete on even terms with other peoples, rid ourselves of noisy organizations, and prosper, if at all, by hard work and the creation of genuine good will.

The labor movement in England, no longer content merely with recognition and increasing wages, is entering on a new phase. "British Labor Steps Ahead" by demanding a share in the actual control of industry. Owing to the persistent rigidity of class lines, Edwin W. Hullinger points out in the same magazine for October, it has developed a type of leader comparable to the best capitalist statesmen, whom success does not lift out of

the ranks. And it has engaged in labor research and education of a high grade and great effectiveness. The American workman, living in a more fluid and essentially freer society, is backward in all these respects. Yet on the whole he is better off, and made of better stuff, than his British comrade, and the possibilities for constructive social engineering on his part are much greater. . . . The reverse side of this picture is given in the *Nation* for September 30 by Benjamin Stolberg, who shows (in "The Predicament of American Labor") that not since the 'nineties has the movement here been so deflated, restless, inarticulate, and bruised by fractional bickerings.

However the anthracite strike be settled, the sociology of coal is going to be for some time a matter of the first importance. Robert W. Bruère in the *Survey* for September 15 and October 1 attempts to diagnose the apathy of the public and the mind of the strikers. The failure of the fact-finding Coal Commission's report to be published after three years accounts in part for the general lethargy and for the contemptuous disregard of public opinion by operators and miners alike. The attitude of the workers toward the owners has changed from the traditional one of hostility and grievance to one of rivalry between business partners. Full union recognition and the attainment of more than a living wage has prompted them to demand a share with capital in the profits of the industry. They would no longer feel sure of public support in an "impartial" arbitration. Neither they nor the operators have supplied figures or facts to justify their present stand.

The millions of China still work at medieval handicrafts in the home, but in-

creasing thousands are filling the cotton, bean oil, and electric power factories, equipped with modern machinery, that have sprung up in the coast cities and up the great rivers. It is a phase of industry like the beginning of our own Industrial Revolution a century or more ago. Employment is sporadic and uncertain; hours of work range from ten to seventeen daily; wages are far below the level of family subsistence; the contract system breeds a species of peonage; working conditions are in many cases unbelievably

harsh and dangerous. The average life of the factory hand is from two to eight years. Vera Kelsey in the October 1 issue draws a vivid picture of squalor and crushing toil. It is due in part to the common ignorance of native employer and employe, but foreign capitalists and investors must bear some responsibility for such conditions. The leisurely pace of the workers and a few scattered efforts at welfare and technical education are the only extenuating details in a dark prospect.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE DISCOVERY OF THE PEOPLE

IN THE September SOCIAL FORCES we raised certain questions of distance between social institutions and professional leadership on the one hand, and their constituency on the other, which bring us face to face with the paradox of finding prevailing ideals, terminology and technique of government, of social organization, of business—of advanced civilization itself—cast far beyond the present understanding of the people, who at the same time are charged with greater active participation in these specialisms and larger responsibility for social direction. This distance, we maintained, is not due primarily to differences in intelligence but to various other causes. Estimated through common sense scientific discrimination between the selected common man and the mongrel mass, there is much evidence to indicate that many of the folk reveal a greater power of social intelligence than most of the learned. The distance between institutions and technicians and the people is due to, besides the factors of unselected groups and individuals, differences in education, in experience, in opportunity, to the power of tradition, to the blighting influence of the political and ecclesiastical demagogue, to the limitation of social technique, to inadequate social leadership, to the normal rise of specialisms, to the multiplication of knowledge and social tools, and to other differences incident to rapid social and economic change. Fur-

thermore, the social scientist and professional technician have a knowledge of the situation entirely incommensurate with opportunities and obligations of the present era. They therefore fall short of their capacity for social guidance and direction and seem unable to diagnose the present social situation. In addition to inadequate equipment in knowledge and data of experience there is evidence to indicate that the technician is inclined to be dogmatic, denunciatory, picayunishly personal, or that he will rush into action or advice prematurely, thus contributing much to misguidance as well as something to guidance. There is, therefore, need, most of all, for a period of descriptive research in limited and thorough special units but aggregating the whole of social data. The world can very well afford to wait for results from such study.

FIRST PRINCIPLES

In the present editorial notes we propose to examine briefly certain first principles which seem to us to reside in the very important task of discovering or rediscovering the people, in the process of which the social scientist will need to find a new social denominator. This task is important from many social viewpoints—of research into important backgrounds, of basic sources of social theory, of interpreting current social problems and movements, of general social guidance and social policy, and from the viewpoint of the whole social experiment of democracy. Before democracy there must be *demeuresis*,

in the scientific sense that it is necessary not only to measure peoples in terms of population, classes, numbers, social and economic conditions, but also to discover their total genetic relations and powers, their social reaction, and their capacity for social processes and achievement.

A THREE-FOLD DISCOVERY

For the purpose of these notes we may approach this task of rediscovering the people from three directions. One is from the viewpoint of the people themselves who, through the democratic opportunity, are in the process of self-discovery and development. This general discussion will have reference to three limited aspects of the subject: the American people in general, the American Negro, and American labor, although the social implications may be much broader. A second approach is from the viewpoint of the social technician, the man in government, in education, in social work, in the other professions, and in the marts of more cosmopolitan experience. This viewpoint, too, is limited and refers largely to the present situation in which learned idealists, theorists, dreamers, optimists, or pessimists, many of whom are just beginning to learn something of the realm through which democracy presents facts and folks as they are, may no longer expect to be screened from an actual view of the people or fail to evaluate the merits and power of the social population or be misled into evolving impossible, unnecessary and unattainable demands of popular participation in social direction. A third approach is from the viewpoint of the larger objectives of the social sciences with their task of discovering, measuring, and developing selectively the social potential of the masses and of determining social value based upon adequate selection, combination and nick of human and physical

resources. The premise of this limited viewpoint would be that localized, temporary and mechanical tests of experience and intelligence, yielding social programs rarely dealing with people but with utopias, may easily miss social safety and progress by a millenium, and that the data of the social sciences are yet largely undiscovered and unused.

NEW KNOWLEDGE, THE DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNITY, FEAR AND UNREST

First, then, what is the problem and the situation with reference to the process of self-discovery and self-expression on the part of the great numbers of the so-called common folks everywhere? Is the present situation normal or abnormal, desirable or undesirable, the logical outcome of years of pointing toward democracy and education, or a miscarriage of normal expectations? From the viewpoint of the greater society and democracy, and admitting the maximum amount of fear and uneasiness on the one hand and of social unrest on the other, the whole situation seems to me both natural and desirable. The people for the first time in the history of society are all, figuratively, in college and university. They have come into the range and acquisition of new knowledge and much of it. They have been begged and coerced into getting knowledge and using it, and have begun the stirrings to respond. The college youth struggling with his convictions and new knowledge has been considered a normal and standard type of successful reaction to college education. We have praised him for his struggle to grow and to think, to react to the new and to find himself, and we have accredited this as a most hopeful sign. What more natural reaction than a similar one on the part of the people now who have more knowledge and more challenges than the former college student ever had?

What more logical and natural result of the great educational process could have been brought about? Why then surprise, pessimism, fear, unwillingness to meet the very situation for which we have waited? If it is true that knowledge has been only half carried to the people, and if many of our leaders have still less digested conclusions, and if the educational and social order is not supplying enough well trained leaders to direct the millions of new folk-students, and finally if they have no alternative but to follow, for the present, the demagogue and misguided enthusiast, this is not the final fruits of democracy or education or social science but simply a stage in the undeveloped technique of democracy and social development. Could there be greater offense on the part of the social scientist than to make final judgments on the basis of almost no data and experience, or calculated in terms of a pitifully few generations in the whole long cultural process?

TWENTY-SEVEN MILLION CONFLICTS

What data and experience are available upon which conclusions concerning democracy, other social objectives and programs, or social progress may be drawn? A few years. A few conflicts. A few superficial and temporary experiments in government, education, social organization, revolution, with practically none of the prerequisites universally conceded as essential, with the social sciences not even having an initial try-out. Here is strange paradox: In one and the same period the social sciences are adjudged the final essential for discovering and developing a greater society, the social sciences, however, as yet have not been effectively established, but their social objectives are pronounced unattainable!

But, to come back to the local application, here are some of the simpler forces at work upon the social population: 26,898,897 copies of forty leading periodicals, with their supplementing readers, broadcasting all sorts of knowledge, information, and advice; millions of readers of the other periodicals and papers; the 150,000 students taking correspondence and extension courses in universities and colleges; the 200,000 in evening schools; at least three million folk from commercial correspondence schools and all others combined. Radio, movies, books by the thousand add their quota. There are the thousands of college men and women carrying the conflicting messages back home from college instructors not much better informed or more definite in their own conclusions. And there are the hosts of college and university teachers themselves trying to find and present the truth aright. To these come thousands of inquiries from the folk. In a single smaller state university there came within the last calendar year 16,131 requests for information and service from every county in the state and ranging in nature from request for profound conclusions to the simplest inquiries on everyday life. Without the educational machinery to transmit adequate and accurate knowledge, without the experience of social extension and contacts, without the all-important factor of having the way paved for knowledge by appreciation of the value of truth and the spirit of science, or without the educational capacity to provide ample interpreters of knowledge and guidance for these new students, the present result of confusion would be inevitable. Anything less than dynamic reaction on the part of a virile population would reflect upon the ideals of social evolution and progress. The present situation challenges us for social technique not yet available.

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SPECIAL ILLUSTRATIONS

Many illustrations of specific situations could be cited. Two or three will suffice. One is the group situation and awakening on the part of the American Negro. No one who reads even a little from his more than four hundred newspapers, or follows something of his growing consciousness in literature and other forms of creative experience, or his new race consciousness in the whole realm of life can fail to glimpse something of this new self discovery on the part of the Negro. And this discovery means change—change in the Negro and his conduct, change in the relations which he will be called upon to assume, change in the attitudes of other races, change in governmental relationships, change in the varied rôle which he will be called upon to assume in the whole national drama. It is but the worst sort of commonplace to affirm that such a situation could be met through a three-headed sentimentality, or through dogma which denies the existence of race, or through stubborn creed which holds race to be everything, immutable, once and forever fixed in the annals of social development. It is equally clear that scientific expeditions are needed to discover similar hidden and newly developed factors in the accumulations of generations of development and adaptation in the whole field of labor. There is certainly need here for no more than the citation of this situation as found in the self-discovery and development of Labor everywhere. The simplest examination of data already available in the economics of labor, in the human factors of industry, or in the newer expression of industry as a fundamental social institution will yield ample conclusions. Similar inquiries might bring

out much data concerning the rural situation and farm folk, formerly the mode of American life, now recently in danger of becoming socially impotent by default and through the dominance of urban and industrial aggressiveness. And many of our studies and efforts in the field of rural welfare are approximately futile and provincial.

SOCIAL TECHNICIAN AND SCHOLAR

The second premise of these notes is that the social scientist, technician and scholar have not been fully aware of the factors inherent in the situations just mentioned, and that further they tend to become frightened, hesitating, pessimistic, or unscientific in hasty conclusions, in proportion as they glimpse intimately the realism found in the Great Society. They tend to think and work in terms of plans rather than people. They expect of the people impossible and unnecessary things. They judge the folks at large by non-conformity to their own high standards and ideals and by their abstract concepts of achievement. They work year in and year out, with commendable ambition, to achieve special skill, training and knowledge. They succeed only to censure severely the people if they do not understand and follow at the first presentation and efforts toward guidance. They tend to ignore the scientific basis of social differentiation. And what is equally important the social scientist and social technician all too frequently cannot agree on terms of coöperative research or work or else proceed each oblivious of the other's data and importance in the whole scheme of human development.

[Continued in next discussion: "The Social Denominator"—]

LIBRARY AND WORK SHOP

Book Reviews directed by HARRY ELMER BARNES AND FRANK H. HANKINS

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RECENT BOOKS BEARING ON THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT AND CULTURE

HARRY ELMER BARNES

- THE DAWN OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION. By V. Gordon Childe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925. xvi, 328 pp. \$6.00.
- A HISTORY OF THE PHARAONS. By Arthur Weigall. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. Vol. I, xv, 328 pp. \$6.00.
- HELLENIC CIVILIZATION. By Maurice Croiset. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925. x, 318 pp. \$2.00.
- THE MYSTERY RELIGIONS AND CHRISTIANITY. By S. Angus. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. xvi, 357 pp. \$3.50.
- THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Karl Kautsky. New York: International Publishers, 1925. 480 pp. \$4.00.
- CHAPTERS IN SOCIAL HISTORY. By Henry S. Spalding, S. J. New York: D. C. Heath Company, 1925. xiii, 457 pp. \$2.00.
- A HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE TO THE PRESENT DAY. By Ferdinand Schevill. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. v, 728 pp. \$3.50.
- THE CHRISTIAN RENAISSANCE. A HISTORY OF THE DEVOTIO MODERNA. By Albert Hyma. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xvii, 501 pp. \$4.00.
- THE RELIGION OF A SCEPTIC. By John Cowper Powys. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1925. 51 pp. \$1.00.
- EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By David Ogg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. x, 579 pp. \$5.00.
- THE WORLD OF THE INCAS. By Otfried Von Hanstein. New York: E. P. Dutton, and Company, 1925. 189 pp. \$2.50.
- THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Herbert L. Osgood. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. xxiv, 582 pp. Vol. IV. \$5.00.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM COBBETT. By G. H. D. Cole. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. x, 458 pp. \$3.50.

CARDINAL NEWMAN. By Bertram Newman. New York: The Century Company, 1925. ix, 223 pp. \$1.00.

THE MEMORIALS OF ALBERT VENN DICEY. Edited by Robert S. Rait. New York: Macmillan, 1925. ix, 304 pp. \$3.50.

THEN AND NOW. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher. New York: Oxford University Press, 1925. xii, 117 pp. \$1.00.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY BEFORE AND AFTER ROUSSEAU. By C. E. Vaughan. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925. 2 vols. xxix, 364 pp., xx, 339 pp. \$14.00.

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND. By Lewis Rockow. New York: Macmillan, 1925. 336 pp. \$4.00.

GERMANY. By G. P. Gooch. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. xi, 360 pp. \$3.00.

HISTORY OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES. By Clive Day. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925. 394 pp. \$1.80.

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES. By Ralph Volney Harlow. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. xv, 862 pp. \$5.00.

THINGS AND IDEALS. ESSAYS IN FUNCTIONAL PHILOSOPHY. By Max C. Otto. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. xi, 321 pp. \$2.50.

EDUCATIONAL FRONTIERS. By Scott Nearing. New York: Privately printed, 1925. xiv, 250 pp.

THE books by Henry Fairfield Osborn and John M. Tyler have provided us with excellent English manuals on the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods of western culture, but a competent and thorough work on the transition from the stone to the metal ages has thus far been a serious desideratum in our language. In this extensive and thorough work by Professor Childe, an early volume in the notable "History of Civilization" series, we now have a scholarly and admirably illustrated book on this subject. It deals with the late Neolithic cultures, the Megalithic age and the development of the copper and bronze cultures. It covers all the European areas from the Balkans to

Britain, and from Sicily to Scandinavia. It not only treats of the evolution of material culture, but also of the problems of racial elements and migrations at the dawn of history. In harmony with the best scholarship of today he assigns an eastern origin to the Alpine culture. This book should be in the hands of every teacher and student of the history of the western world. It constitutes the final quietus and extinction of the older approach to the "dawn of history" through fable, myth and folk-lore. There need no longer be any more mystery concerning the historical background of the city of Rome than in regard to the foundation of Paris, London or Vienna. In fact, in the new perspective they all seem practical coeval in origin.

Dr. Weigall was formerly Inspector-General of Antiquities of the Egyptian Government, and is a veteran student of Egyptology. This is the first volume of what promises to be a very detailed and authoritative history of Egypt for specialists. It is literally a "history of the Pharaohs" sticking close to the chronology of the early kings, and covering the first eleven dynasties which extended from 3407 to 2112 B.C. The present volume, aside from political and archeological details, is chiefly interesting for its discussion of the chronological problems of early Egyptian history. He accepts the Breasted-Meyer rather than the Petrie chronology and places the accession of Menes at 3407 B.C. It is also interesting to note that in his preface he characterizes Breasted as the greatest of living Egyptologists. Mr. Thomas has rendered a real service to American college students by translating for us the admirable summary of Greek civilization by the distinguished French authority, M. Croiset. It combines the topical and chronological methods with great skill,

and conveys a vast range of information with lucidity of style and orderly presentation. The book will easily displace any previous introductory surveys of "Hellenic civilization."

Professor Angus had already produced a brief book on "The Environment of Early Christianity" which discussed the setting of Christianity against the background of the world religions of the time. This work is a more thorough and scholarly achievement. It combines to a certain degree the scope of the earlier works of Hatch, Percy Gardner, Cumont, Loisy and Glover in indicating the mutual borrowing and interaction of Christianity, primitive survivals, Hellenic transcendentalism, the Oriental mystery religions, Roman religion and asceticism. It is, perhaps, the best book in English to put into the hands of an intellectually competent person who might still chance to hold that Christianity is "the faith once for all delivered unto the Saints."

At last we have an English translation of the long famous work of Karl Kautsky essaying a strictly economic interpretation of Judaism and Christianity. The book is more than a mere economic interpretation of Christian origins; it is an attempt to outline the economic development and setting of the life out of which Judaism and Christianity grew. He not only propounds the thesis of the economic interpretation of Christian theology, but also of the development of the Christian Congregation and ecclesiastical practices and institutions. While contending that primitive Christianity was communistic, he wisely concludes that its communism was of too rudimentary and ill-planned a variety to serve as the basis of modern Socialism. The book is full of suggestive material and hypotheses which cannot be ignored by any honest student of the growth of Christianity, but Kautsky is a far better economist and historian than

theologian and anthropologist. He has little grasp of the facts of religious psychology, anthropology and cultural history, which alone can enable one to construct a comprehensive and adequate picture of the rise of the Christian religion. Yet it is probably far nearer to the truth than the conventional simple-minded metaphysical and pietistic account.

Father Spalding's work is a valuable contribution to the high school teacher and elementary college student interested in the medieval period. Part of the material is from the pen of Father Spalding and the remainder excerpts from monographs on the Middle Ages. The work is distinctly an apology for the Roman Catholic régime of the medieval era, and is compiled in the spirit of Ralph Adams Cram, James J. Walsh and Janssen. But it is full of relevant and vivid information, and is particularly to be recommended to militant Protestant students of medieval history. Equally corrective are the concluding chapters on the social aspects of the Reformation period.

Professor Schevill's book is not a mere revision of his excellent brief manual on *The Political History of Modern Europe*, but a new, more comprehensive and more advanced textbook. It not only traces the major steps and phases in the evolution of our contemporary national state system, but also weaves into the story in an able fashion the more important advances in economic and social life and general culture. It is a fine achievement in historical writing and should find wide use among teachers who desire a treatment as dynamic as that to be discovered in Hayes, and yet much more brief in content. It has no significant rival as a single volume text on the period from 1500-1925.

Dr. Hyma's work is the most thorough historical treatment of the pietistic, mystical and reformist tradition which has

descended from the work of Gerard Groote, the Brethren of the Common Life, Thomas à Kempis and their successors. It is a work of exacting scholarship, and is to be recommended to all piously inclined readers and to others interested in religious and cultural archeology and survivals. At the opposite extreme from the set of intellectual interests dealt with in Dr. Hyma's book is the content of Mr. Powys' excellent summary of the position of the modern free thinkers, which deserves to rank with Mr. Bertrand Russell's *What I Believe*.

Professor Ogg's book is an alleged attempt at a more dynamic and profound interpretation of the seventeenth century than is to be found in the average book on political history. Unfortunately, the author's aspirations in this respect are largely exhausted in the first chapter, and the remainder of the book is scarcely more than an intelligent summary of political and diplomatic events. The much needed volume which would put the seventeenth century in its proper relation to the expansion of Europe, the commercial revolution, the rise of the middle class and the growth of the national state still remains to be written.

Dr. von Hanstein's book is a very interesting effort to reconstruct the society and culture of the ancient Incas of Peru. Some of the material may be fanciful but the book is throughout vivid and entertaining, and presents a picture of a highly advanced society.

We have in Volume IV of the late Professor Osgood's series the conclusion of his monumental work on the English colonies in America before the Revolution. It represents the most scholarly achievement on a large scale which has been produced by an American historian. The institutional political history of the colonial period is rendered hereby a com-

pleted task, and it will always remain a blot upon the American Historical Association that Professor Osgood was never given adequate recognition for his unmatched combination of scholarship and productivity.

In Mr. Cole's *Life of William Cobbett* we have a contribution of real importance to modern English history. It is a work which will rank with Wallas' *Life of Francis Place* and the Hammond's *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*. It gives an admirable picture of the great English radical and pamphleteer, and of the part which he played in British and American politics. Quite a different character is presented in the life of Cardinal Newman, but this excellent and much needed biography will be of as much service to English intellectual history as will the *Life of Cobbett* for political history. Of special importance is the section on the Oxford movement and the growth of English pietism. Mr. Rait's life and letters of the distinguished English publicist, A. V. Dicey, not only throws light upon this eminent English scholar, who contributed so much to English political science and jurisprudence, but also helps us to understand his friends and associates, such as Bryce, Goldwin Smith and Henry Sidgwick. It deals more with his political career and personal associations than with his significant contributions to the sciences of politics and law. Mrs. Fisher's little book is primarily of significance as furnishing the basis for an interesting comparison between conditions after the Napoleonic wars and those since 1918.

The late Professor Vaughan is well known as the editor of the best collection of the writings of Rousseau. In the present volume we have a monumental work which is true to its title, namely, a history of political *philosophy* from Hobbes to Mazzini. The authors dealt

with are Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Vico, Montesquieu, Hume, Burke, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Comte and Mazzini. It is a thorough and thoughtful work, and nowhere else in the English language can one discover as complete and adequate a treatment of the doctrines of the chief figures in early modern political philosophy. Mr. Rockow's book is strictly a study of twentieth century political theory in England. The leading writers treated are McDougall, Wallas, Watson, Mallock, the Webbs, Laski, Russell, Cole, the Pauls, Hobhouse, Bryce, Norman, Angell, Wells, Shaw and Galsworthy. It is a scholarly and readable book, and is to be criticized only for its omissions, chiefly the biologists, anthropologists, the more recent psychologists, and the statisticians. But as it stands it is probably the most adequate sketch of strictly contemporary political thought which has yet appeared in any country.

Professor Gooch's book on contemporary Germany is a model of fairness and insight. It is not by any means a purely political history, but rather devotes much space to a study of German psychology, culture and economics since the time of Bismarck. The greater majority of the book is given to the period since 1914. It is a work which will be indispensable to the English and American students of present-day Germany, and it reflects high credit upon a scholar who has already distinguished himself for thorough scholarship, great fairness, and keen insight.

Professor Day's work is an excellent manual on the history of American trade. The sections on the foreign trade of this country are taken largely from his admirable general history of commerce, but the sections dealing with industrial development and domestic trade are new and excellent. The book constitutes a valua-

ble addition to our teaching equipment in the economic history of the United States. Professor Harlow has produced an extremely interesting college textbook on American history. While it holds pretty close to the ancient rubrics of political and military history, it does not overburden the reader with details, and the narrative moves along in more lively fashion than any other comparable work. The author is not afraid to risk original opinions and independent judgments. It will prove particularly useful to teachers who find works of two volumes too extensive for their needs.

Professor Otto's book consists of a collection of essays by one of the most stimulating and progressive thinkers in contemporary America. Particularly important are the chapters on the newer views of ethics, and the relation between science and theology. Chapters VII-IX constitute one of the most vital and suggestive treatments of the fundamental issues involved in the struggle between the scientific and religious views of the world that has come to the reviewer's attention. Particularly useful is the author's effective disposition of many of the well-meaning but simple-minded recent attempts to reconcile science and religion. Dr. Nearing's most recent book is a study of the problems of modern education as they appear to a progressive economist and educator. The book revolves chiefly around the work of Simon M. Patten and his disciples at the University of Pennsylvania. It is a book which deserves to rank with that of Veblen as a critique of the "hire learning." The book is, of course, much more interestingly written and much less profound philosophically than Veblen's. It should be read by every teacher of social science in the country.

TEXT APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIETY

F. H. HANKINS

SOCIAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS. An Elementary Study of Society. By Joseph K. Hart. New York: World Book Company, 1925. Pp. vi, 423.

THE STORY OF HUMAN PROGRESS. An Introduction to Social Studies. By Leon C. Marshall. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. xvi, 548.

CIVIC SOCIOLOGY. A Textbook in Social and Civic Problems for Young Americans. By Edward A. Ross. New York: World Book Company, 1925. Pp. vi, 365. \$1.80.

STARTING-POINTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. By A. G. Keller. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925. Pp. iii, 183.

SOCIOLOGY AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: American Book Company, 1924. 416 pp.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Walter Greenwood Beach. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925. 369 pp. \$1.25.

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND SOCIAL CONTINUITIES. By Alfred M. Tozzer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. xix, 286. \$2.50.

SINCE the days, more than a decade ago, when Professor Albion W.

Small was advocating the development of a comprehensive introductory course in the social sciences there have been tried out in American colleges a wide range and variety of such. They differ from one another primarily on the basis of the differences in training and interests of those who give them. Some, developed by economists with a sociological interest are devoted largely to economic history, or to plans and programs of economic or social reform; others study human and social origins in detail; some consider problems of social control and others problems of social degeneration; some are primarily factual, some philosophical; some are miniatures of advanced courses in sociology; some are hodgepodes of a proliferated uplift enthusiasm; some give careful studies of a few major problems.

A somewhat similar experimentation has been going on among secondary schools and three of the above books are expressly designed for high-school students—the Hart, the Marshall and the Ross. That by Professor Keller is based on a course given to Yale Freshmen. That by Professor Ellwood is the 1919 revision of a work that has already had a long and highly useful career; there is a partially new preface. That by Professor Beach is the latest attempt at a college text in sociology.

The work by Hart is written in a very popular semi-journalistic style under two main captions, "Yesterday and Today," and "Today and Tomorrow." It seems altogether too popular and colloquial even for high school use. Moreover, not only is it utterly lacking in theoretical interest, but it lacks logical arrangement, resolving itself into pretty much of a melange of uplift interests and problems. Some of the illustrations are effective and apropos, while others seem to have been included largely because of interest in themselves rather than for their value in illustrating the text.

By contract Marshall's "Story" has unity and continuity and should leave in the mind of the high school student a picture of major phases of the history of culture and primary factors in social life. Society is here pictured as a unitary going concern with both a past and a future. After a brief introduction devoted mainly to a picture of life among the Iroquois, there are four parts devoted respectively to the harnessing of nature; communication (including the transmission of culture); social organization; and the rôle of human ideals and hopes. The illustrations are original and extraordinarily telling. While the outline is

clear the quantity of material and range of problems covered is truly astonishing. One wonders whether the high school pupil can assimilate so much. The style is direct and personal and should have a strong appeal, but the subject matter seems over-loaded. The exercises at the close of each chapter are designed to force the student to realistic present-day applications and original thinking. There is a "Teacher's Manual" of 37 pages which accompanies this volume.

While the Marshall lays an adequate basis for an entire year's work, the Ross is expressly designed for the first half of the senior year in high school. It concerns itself with American conditions, lays its foundation in a study of major trends in our social life—as growth and changing character of population, pressure on natural resources, urbanization, growth of the machine industries, the expansion of social mind and changes in the family—and then proceeds to a study of "Major Social Problems" and then to "Major Civic Problems." There can be no quarrel with the choice of problems; they are "major" and sufficiently numerous. At the close of chapters are questions on the text, questions for class discussion and for debate and topics for special reports. To the reviewer the Ross appears the best of the three for high school use. While it includes less than the Marshall, it has a clarity, a concentration on fundamental issues and a basis for sound training in social analysis and independent thinking which are unexcelled. Moreover, the Marshall frequently lapses into oversimplicity and an all too obvious effort to impress the proper moral lesson. The Ross appears to be a somewhat more "grown-up" book.

Why Professor Keller should have thought his book worth publishing in its present form is far from clear to the

reviewer. It may find some excuse in the fact that there appears to be a market for a book covering the field of the "freshman orientation course": but I doubt if any one will find this book particularly useful there. It has another excuse also in its special point of view, namely, the significance of the concept of adjustment to environment, first physical and then social, through biological and social variation, selection and inheritance. This gives a unity to the volume as well as a wholesome matter-of-factness and unsentimentalism. But it has the appearance of being a lazy book. Its lack of technicalities and of scholarly devices might commend it to the Chatauqua home reading circle, but to few teachers of sociology. Difficult points in social origins and interpretation, notably in the chapters on the family and religion, are passed over with never a hint of their complexity or the scholarly controversies about them. The author's range is narrow; the discussion seldom gets very far from its central pivot, the concept of adjustment. There are no references and none of the other arts of modern textbooks. In comparison with any of the high school texts mentioned it lacks vigor and freshness. In fact, it has about it a somewhat antique flavor.

Professor Beach also has written for introductory college classes, but he has produced a book of very superior merits. After a brief introduction are eight chapters on "Elements: Nature and Man," followed by ten chapters on "The Building of Social Life" and by ten more on "Social Order, Social Institutions and Social Control." The chapters follow each other in an orderly fashion with easy transition and a steady enlargement of the view of society and its processes. The frequent paragraph headings and questions and references at the ends of chap-

ters add utility as a text. About the only criticisms one can pass on such a work are expressions of differences in emphasis. There is, for example, no reference to prehistoric men, nor to the early culture stages. One might quarrel with the discussion of instincts with its obvious influence from McDougall. In comparison with Professor Bushee's recent *Principles of Sociology* there is much less emphasis on biological matters and much more on economic. There are seventy-five pages devoted to "The Economic Order." One may also be surprised at fifty pages devoted to "Conflict" and only six to "Coöperation." Many difficult problems relating to the origins of family, state, morals and religion are avoided by centering attention on functions and modern problems. It is a far less profound and thought-provoking book than Bushee's, but should prove useful for many classes requiring a somewhat less thorough but yet strictly scholarly work.

A quite different introductory approach to the social sciences is made in Tozzer's "Social Origins and Continuities." For a small book of only six chapters it gives an excellent introduction to cultural origins. It displays the orientation of both the anthropologist and the soci-

ologist. In the first chapter there is a contrast of biological and social inheritance, a discussion of the theories of monotypical evolution versus dissemination of culture and an examination of the criteria of progress. Chapter II, "The Nature of the Savage and of His Society," Chapter III, "The Crises in the Life of the Individual" (birth, adolescence, death), Chapter IV "Marriage and the Family" and Chapter V, "Organization, Associations, and Classes," and Chapter VI, "Government, Law, and Ethics" are followed by an "Appendix" of 25 pages on freshmen themes on superstitious beliefs and practices. Being a series of semi-popular Lowell Institute lectures the material is characterized by the range and multiplicity of matters treated rather than by exhaustiveness or profundity. It will be found, however, extremely valuable by all students of sociology for its frequent contrasts of older and newer anthropological viewpoints, as for example, with respect to theories of cultural evolution, savage versus modern man, primitive promiscuity, exogamy, and taboo. In a great many ways it rounds out and completes the authoritative popularization of anthropology so well begun by Boas, Lowie, Goldenweiser, Kroeber and Wissler.

PSYCHOANALYSIS: THREE WISE MEN TRAVEL WEST FROM VIENNA

L. L. BERNARD

SIGMUND FREUD. *HIS PERSONALITY, HIS TEACHING, AND HIS SCHOOL*. By Fritz Wittels. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1924. Pp. 287. \$3.50.

PROBLEMS IN DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGY. *A Critique of Psychoanalysis and Suggested Formulations*. By John T. MacCurdy. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. Pp. xv 383.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS. By A. Wohlgemuth. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Pp. 250.

THESE are interesting books, because they reveal a growth in human experience and personality, as well as in science. They are, in fact, so many contributions to a saga of disillusionment regarding a great dream, and perhaps a great personality, but they by no means sing in the same tune. Wittels was originally an enthusiastic disciple of the great Freud, but later he found him to be merely human, self-centered, and capable of playing a political game in the interests of his theories, even of vindictiveness towards those who dared to criticize them. One after another the great satellites were banished from the supreme presence for lese majeste, and Wittels went along with the others into outer darkness, apparently in the train of that "genius" of dream interpretation, Wilhelm Stekel. Behold the words of Wittels himself, redolent with feeling, telling of the rending of his soul.

Thus has it come to pass that Freud has enkindled the world. Many believe that psychoanalysis is destined to change the whole aspect of the universe. But the day for a final judgment on Freud has not yet come. He still lives among us, still works, and no one can foresee the potentialities of a man of genius. Some praise him to the skies, and some revile him. I am not so arrogant as to believe that I have found the golden mean. Full well do I know that this essay upon Freud and his teachings is subjective

through and through. I myself am bipolar in my attitude towards Freud. I, like others, have had personal differences with Freud, and have suffered therefor. Once, for me, as for all his pupils, he was a father-*imago*. He tells us that the death of the father is the most important event in a man's life. But perhaps there is another event no less important than the loss of the father. A son has been born to me! I no longer need a father, now that I am myself a father! Thanks to this gift, I have won sufficient strength to enter the field of psychoanalysis again, after many years of partial exile.

Thus his spirit has revived and now he will practice psychoanalysis according to his own inspiration and with due faith in his powers to interpret dreams more effectively than his master.

Manifestly, this is not a scientific book. It is the story of a man's soul as reflected in his accounts of the experiences of the men who shaped it. It is interesting, and even valuable, because it gives much inside history regarding the development of the psychoanalytical movement. It is scarcely a biography of Freud. It is too sketchy and episodic, but it does give Wittels' understanding of the main trends in the development of Freud's views and character. Apparently most of this information was gained from contact with Freud himself and from his charmed circle. In fact, there is much of the deliciousness of intimate gossip running through the book—and perhaps some of the defects characteristic of gossip. There is the story of how Freud became interested in hysteria, his Moravian childhood and infantile fixations, the influence of Charcot, his medical school and research days, his association with Breuer, his development of his sexual bias as expressed in his theory of the anxiety neurosis, dream interpretation, and autoeroticism generally. It must be admitted

that Wittels has seen fairly well some of Freud's errors of interpretation, especially those respecting anxiety and the exaggeration of the sexual character of the libido.

But it was Freud's personality which finally gave him most pause, just as earlier it had enthralled him, and in a sense still does. The curious and illuminating story of his apparent trading with one after another of his chief lieutenants, and then finally the break and banishment which came when trading was no longer effective in retaining for himself the mantle of supreme and only prophet, fills the larger portion of the volume. Thus came and departed Alfred Adler, the "Siegfried type" Jung, and Wilhelm Stekel, to mention no lesser luminaries, the last because of "matters which it is scarcely possible to make public." That looks like scandal. The whole book is on a personality basis. And yet it is not possible wholly to divorce science from personality. And besides, psychoanalysis is an art, very much an art.

Dr. MacCurdy's reaction to Freud is analytical and intellectual instead of emotional. It is also largely that of a psychologist and a psychiatrist, instead merely of a practicing psychoanalyst. But he too confesses to disillusionment. He says, "In 1913 and 1914 Dr. Hoch and I spent some hundreds of hours together in reading critically what Freud had written. To our surprise it was found that his fundamental principles were not internally consistent." Of Freud's pupil and rival he declares, "No attempt has been made to consider the theories of Jung because, quite frankly, I cannot understand them." (Psychoanalytically speaking, does this mean that his attachment for Freud blocks a recognition of Jung?) His book is by no means easy reading and is replete with rather telling criticisms of

the loyal Freudians on both psychological and psychiatric grounds. Very many of his criticisms of Freud's hypothetical generalizations are based on his own superior clinical experience and knowledge. Sometimes he makes Freud look like a rather irresponsible and idealistic dreamer, or perhaps a good example of his own theory of rationalization, setting forth a fabric of hypotheses to systematize and justify his own emotional outlook and adjustment needs.

But such is not his intention. While not strictly speaking a Freudian he believes that Freud has made a great contribution. He accepts the theory of the unconscious and in the main his theory of the erotic coloring of emotion and will. However, he finds more place for the ego motives and the environmental biases than does Freud. He regrets Freud's overintellectualism, of which his use of the term "wish" for all assimilative attitudes is a striking example. The "pleasure-pain" principle and the strong sexual emphasis he also finds to be much overworked. Infantilism and regression he largely accepts. His criticisms are far too detailed and numerous to attempt even to cite here. At times, especially in the second third of the book, the critical reader is inclined to think that Dr. MacCurdy sees quite clearly the metaphysical presuppositions and slipshod logic of Freud, and on the surface he does. He does not hesitate to characterize Freud's methods as metaphysical or to refer to his lack of demonstration. But he fails to get down to a fundamental basis of criticism. He allows the basic errors of Freudian interpretation of behavior to stand and busies himself with an intellectual cultivation of the surface soil. He still accepts such hypotheses as the homosexual and incestuous complexes and he is as uncritical of the hypothesis of

instincts as a psychological babe. In fact, he employs the concept of instinct 363 times, an average of almost once to the page. In spite of not understanding Jung he uses Jung's three great fundamental groups of instincts—the sex, ego, and herd types. He appears to be quite innocent of the fact that he is dealing only with habit sets and that his treatment of the so-called herd instinct is really an attempt to account for the influence of the environment in producing conflicts in the emotions of individuals attempting to express their sex and other individualistic impulses and habits.

Dr. MacCurdy is attempting to render a valuable service in psychotherapy. He wishes to go beyond the mere art of psychoanalysis and formulate a theory of emotional integration and adjustment which will be sufficiently broad and functional to offer orientation in guiding mental adjustments. Accordingly he is much concerned with general theories of repression, dementia praecox, paranoia, manic depressive states, etc. To the same general purpose he attempts in the latter part of the book a general theory of motivation and psychic coördinations based in part upon the theories of W. H. R. Rivers and partly upon his own reflections and (he would say, which I doubt) his own clinical experience. It is here, I believe, that he fails most conspicuously, because he has never learned to distinguish between instincts and habits. When later he learns to make the same critical review of his own metaphysical presuppositions which he has already applied to Freud's and works out an analysis on the basis of a functional study of environment he will have something very valuable to contribute. As yet his criticism of Freud, which is exceptionally brilliant, is better than his own constructive work, so far as it is revealed in this volume.

Dr. Wohlgemuth is a British psychologist apparently with an Austrian history or antecedents. He too was once a Freudian or a near Freudian, for he accepted the theory of dream interpretation—until Freud interpreted some dreams in a work of fiction as if they were real. Then he renounced all of the system, good and bad. The reviewer is unable to determine whether the asperity of Dr. Wohlgemuth's animadversions upon psychoanalysis is due to his deep passion for truth, to the recency of his apostasy (not so very recent, perhaps), or to a certain defense reaction, to use the psychoanalytic form of interpretation. He is especially stinging in his criticism of the erotic theory of dream wishes. He does some clever work in turning the tables upon the psychoanalysts by interpreting their own dreams with a sexual emphasis. He shows up the unsoundness of the Freudian theory of feeling, rejects the hypothesis of unconscious mentation, declares that Freud is ignorant of scientific psychology, ridicules the vagaries of Jung regarding symbolism, criticizes their overemphasis upon sex motivation and the theory of infantilism and regression, accepts the association test, discredits their logic and finds great amusement (and almost as much indignation) in Freud's comparison of himself with Copernicus and Darwin.

In short, if he is correct, there is practically nothing in Freudianism but ignorance and charlatanism. Many of his criticisms are very telling and his sarcasm is amusing, if you are sufficiently detached not to take it personally. But I doubt if he sees all of the truth that is back of psychoanalysis after it is stripped of its metaphysical adumbrations and emotional mystification and meandering. Whether one calls it the unconscious (with the psychoanalysts) or neural dispositions (with Wohlgemuth), there seems to be

no question but that a large part of our behavior fails to come into focal consciousness and must be reached and adjusted to a system of environmental controls by other methods than by direct and unaided introspection.

Although these three books approach the task of criticism of psychoanalysis (particularly of Freudian doctrines) from very different angles, all of them should be enlightening. We have reached the stage when we can profitably drive between the two extremes of accepting uncritically and rejecting wholly these theories. It is time to take what is worth while and use it.

THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HUMAN SOCIETY. By Franklin Henry Giddings. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1924. 247 pp. \$2.00.

In this little book are found as so many chapters, the series of articles on scientific method in sociological study written mostly for the JOURNAL OF SOCIAL FORCES by Prof. Giddings. The book is an attempt to indicate to what extent "sociology is indubitably a *scientific* study of Human Society and how it can be made more rigorously so." There is nothing like it in the literature of the methodology of sociology as the scientific student will discover on reading the table of contents, running through twelve brief chapters of 240 pages, and discussing consecutively, societal patterns, societal variables, the scientific scrutiny of societal facts, the classification of societal facts, the pluralistic field and the sample, the study of cases, the significance of casual groups, societal teleosis, the validity of inference from societal experimentation, exploration and survey, the measurement of societal energies and trends, and methods of measurement.

Prof. Giddings opens with a suggestive

treatment of the concept of societal patterns, although the reviewer wonders whether this condensation of the author's earlier treatment of the historical stages of the evolution of social organization is germane to the subject of the book.

In his chapter on societal variables, after a brief discussion of the nature of variables and constants, Prof. Giddings advances three generalizations relative to the variable nature of mental development. These generalizations he terms "the greater societal variables." Prof. Giddings' method at this point therefore departs from the usual practice which is to regard natural phenomena as variable or constant and not to apply these categories to generalizations. It is all a question of whether one is dealing with data of observation or with hypotheses as the raw material of scientific study.

Prof. Giddings' insistence on rigorous scientific scrutiny of societal facts is an admonition of importance, one which many preach but few practice. There are many brilliant passages in this chapter, such as "The *scrutiny* of alleged facts to determine whether or not they *are* facts is the fundamental *systematic* work of science" (page 42) or "Among unnecessary ways of being mistaken, there is none more unnecessary or more discredited by experience to assume that something or other cannot be done" (page 56). The uplifter type of social worker is taken to task for failing to check up on the results of his work. This is all very appropriate until one reads on page forty, a statement which implies that all social work is equally unscientific, and the author goes so far as to say regarding the evidences of scientific checking up, "I have made more attempts to get at it than I can count and without success" (page 41). In partial refutation there at once come to mind, Wood's monograph on "Trouble

Cases" and Folk's, "What Becomes of Foster Children."

Prof. Giddings' insistence on verification of facts and need of practical workers to know what results they are getting and by what methods they are getting them is a timely warning which should profit all sociologists.

The chapter on classification is a logical presentation of this important, though often over-emphasized step in scientific procedure. The distinction between pragmatic and scientific classification is helpful, but the reader notes the tendency to ignore certain significant aspects of classification presented by logicians and systematists and the presentation as substitute of certain formal categories of Prof. Giddings' own system of terminology.

Of the earlier chapters, that on the pluralistic field and the sample, chapter 5, impresses the reviewer as the best done. Certainly the procedure of sampling is fundamental to the scientific study of societal facts. One notes, however, the absence of adequate description of random sampling as defined by logicians and the important conditions of simple sampling as developed by Yule are not treated. In chapter 7 upon the significance of casual groups, a considerable amount of material gathered by Prof. Giddings' students is presented in the form of primary tables from which Prof. Giddings draws certain conclusions about fundamental societal patterns and the measurement of variables which leaves the reader unconvinced since the author does not seem to focus on any specific problem.

Chapter 8 on social teleis is suggestive and stimulating. The most significant and important statement in the chapter, in the opinion of the reviewer is, "Therefore, beyond question, the telic process in society is continuous with the genetic. Presumably it is a projection of the genetic rather than a substitute for it, and cannot

even in a figurative sense be said to supersede it" (page 145).

Inference from societal experimentation, chapter 9, is one of the most important chapters in the book and some telling points are driven home with Prof. Giddings' usual brilliance of statement such as "the validity of an induction differs in no way, qualitatively or quantitatively, from the validity of a deduction" and "Therefore, all induction can give us is presumption or probability. But, also, *this is all that deduction can give us*" (page 174). The principle of delimitation of the field of study, the relative importance of the experimental factor, checking the validity of inference, correlation and spurious correlation, are consecutively presented.

In his chapter on exploration and survey, chapter 10, Prof. Giddings makes the important point that most so-called "social surveys" are not really sociological, and lists on pages 186-187 the social and societal phenomena which should be studied. It is to be regretted that the author has not indicated in detail the technique which we are all so badly in need of, to observe and measure just these phenomena. One fails to find any reference to the growing literature in which are found examples of improvements in scientific technique that have been contributed to the fund of scientific procedure in this field.

His chapter 11, on measurement of energies, is critical and judicious and concludes with some excellent practical suggestions. The final chapter on methods of measurement is a formal listing of common statistical terms and devices with the addition on pages 224-227 and 230-237 of Prof. Giddings' own terms, among the most valuable of which are tangential, inter-secting and intra-secting forms of association.

A bibliography of four pages includes

among others, the more general works of Walter Bagehot, Vernon Kellogg, Lewis H. Morgan, Herbert Spencer and E. B. Tylor, but omits reference to more technical and methodological works such as F. Boas, "Measurement of Variable Quantities"; M. C. Elmer, "Technique of Social Survey"; M. E. Richmond, "Social Diagnosis"; A. E. Sheffield, "The Social Case History"; A. L. Bowley and R. R. Burnet-Hurst's, "Livelihood and Poverty"; and C. C. Taylor, "The Social Survey."

The main contribution of this book is to stimulate and inspire an intelligent and discriminating interest in the scientific method applied to the study of social phenomena. Written with Prof. Giddings' usual brilliance of literary style, it should be of value to younger students whose approach to social study has hitherto been credulous and uncritical. Because of its brief scope, general rather than specific character, formal rather than technical treatment, and lack of adequate bibliography and references, research students will find within its pages nothing essentially new, but nevertheless a useful summary of Prof. Giddings' earlier writings.

F. STUART CHAPIN.

University of Minnesota.

THE SOCIAL THEORY OF GEORG SIMMEL. By Nicholas J. Spykman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. xx, 297 pp. \$3.00.

GUILLAUME DE GREEF. By Dorothy Wolff Douglas. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925. 391 pp. \$4.00.

The writings on modern sociology have become so voluminous and diverse that Professor Hankins recently found it necessary to devote some sixteen large pages to a mere enumeration of the names of the foremost contemporary writers in the field. It is obvious that few, if any, can

master contemporary sociological literature by a first-hand acquaintance of this vast body of material. More and more we must depend upon adequate monographs which summarize and expound the major contributions of some leading sociologist. Books like Davis' treatment of Tarde, and Gehlke's analysis of Durkheim have been examples of what needs to be achieved for every conspicuous modern sociologist. In the present works by Dr. Spykman and Dr. Douglas we have two model monographic expositions of the doctrines of sociologists of the first rank. In fact, in the whole range of modern sociology it would not have been possible to find two sociologists more difficult to summarize and interpret. Simmel unquestionably produced the most abstruse and difficult social philosophy to be found in sociological literature, with the possible exception of that of Ferdinand Tönnies, and the latter was by no means as voluminous a writer as Simmel. De Greef, on the other hand, while a relatively clear and lucid writer, is easily the most voluminous and productive scholar in the sociological field. He was the author of more than twenty-five books and monographs as well as of numerous articles.

Dr. Spykman has performed a service of the highest merit in his admirable summary and analysis of Simmel's social philosophy. Simmel not only wrote in German of a very difficult type, but his thought was so abstruse and formal as to defy all but the best minds which have mastered the German language. Dr. Spykman has not only made Simmel accessible; he has performed an even more heroic achievement in making him intelligible. The vast body of Simmel's social geometry and metaphysics has now been reduced to a form where any thoughtful reader can master the essentials. We

suspect, however, that in some places the clarity and simplicity is more a product of Dr. Spykman's lucid and penetrating mind than of the specific thought of Simmel. In fact, the reviewer finds more to admire in Spykman than in Simmel. While recognizing the profundity of much of Simmel's thought, the reviewer can in no sense share the opinion that Simmel has been the chief influence in theoretical sociology. Even more would the reviewer diverge from the estimate of Professor Park that Simmel has written "the most profound and stimulating book on sociology that has ever been written." As a matter of fact, Simmel's main contribution lies in his unusually thorough analysis of the external and formal nature and interrelationship of social groups. This is certainly an important achievement, but in the mind of the reviewer Simmel cannot rank with Gumpłowicz as a pioneer thinker in the field of the sociology of human groups, and he does not approach Ratzenhofer or Small in the rich and vital analysis of the actual processes of group life and relationships. He may be compared to Ratzenhofer in the field of social science in much the same way that geometry may be compared to modern biological chemistry in understanding the physical processes of life. We hope Dr. Spykman will now turn to Tönnies, Max Weber and Troeltsch.

Dr. Douglas' work is distinctly more of a bibliographic summary and analysis and less of a theoretical restatement than the book of Dr. Spykman. There is an excellent introductory treatment of De Greef's life, together with an indispensable survey of his social and intellectual environment as the background against which to interpret his doctrines. De Greef wrote extensively on economics, political science and theories of social reconstruction as well as upon theoretical sociology. Dr. Douglas recognizes this

fact and gives us a well-rounded treatment of De. Greef's diverse activities and literary achievements. There is an excellent analytical summary of his leading books followed by a critical exposition of his more important theoretical contributions to formal sociology and their application to contemporary problems.

In theoretical sociology his main achievements are found to have consisted in: (1) the classification of the social sciences and sociological data; (2) a "nominal" theory of progress; (3) the doctrine of contractualism as the key to the social process; (4) and the doctrine of social frontiers. In applied sociology De Greef's chief work has consisted mainly of a defense of the theory of free credit and occupational representation. While treating adequately his theory of frontiers, Dr. Douglas states that she has made no effort to produce a thorough treatment of De Greef's views on international relations, leaving this to be executed by Professor Tenney. Dr. Douglas' monograph demonstrates extensive industry and careful scholarship. In it one also discovers the painstaking scrutiny and supervision of Professor A. A. Tenney of Columbia University, to whose critical devotion and laborious efforts has been due a large part of the accuracy and scholarship manifested in the doctoral dissertations in the department of sociology at Columbia University during the last twenty years. It is to be hoped that these books by Dr. Spykman and Dr. Douglas will be followed by a score of others equally competent and relevant.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Smith College.

THE NEW HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES. By Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xvii, 605 pp. \$4.00.

What is the "new" history, and what has it to do with the social studies?

History is an art of hoary antiquity. The social studies, too, had their origins in a remote age. What, then, can this new history of the twentieth century be, and why should it be wedded to the social sciences?

In Magdalenian days, we may imagine hunters gathering about their cave fires and recounting experiences of the chase. Tense moments would be revived and dramatic episodes re-enacted. Thus grew up a body of folklore, myths and legends. Later they were recorded and preserved in writing. Herodotus' paternity to history, then, was purely nominal and honorary.

Up to fairly recent times, history has followed faithfully its primitive pattern. Exploits of war, intrigues of diplomats, scandals of royal households; the dramatic and the novel, were its chief diet. Revision of methodology, critical scrutiny of evidence, injected, in the nineteenth century, the hitherto secondary factors accuracy and systematic organization. Nevertheless, history continued to cling to the old habit of political and episodic reporting.

Recent years have brought forth a new conception of history. The masses of human beings, the world in which they live, their culture, their institutions, their habits, their beliefs, their struggles and aspirations, merge in a great stream rising from an ancient and distant source and winding its fortuitous course through the ages; a mighty river upon whose surface political episodes appear as but eddies. The Industrial Revolution has completely transformed our world. Unprecedented social problems have arisen from the sweeping technological advances of the last two centuries. The rise of the social sciences is an effort to meet the exigencies of readjustment. No longer is history the only child of an antique Greek

or the pampered ward of an indulgent Clio, but rather one of the numerous progeny of a new age. Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology and Economics are to unite with history in grappling with the problems of contemporary civilization. No longer is a narrow political interest adequate; the entire range of social processes must be encompassed.

The most comprehensive and adequate expression of this trend that has thus far appeared is the present volume by Professor Barnes. It is both an obituary of the passing drum-and-trumpet chronicles and a christening of the new history. It represents the emergence in written form on an extensive documentary basis of the spirit of James Harvey Robinson, James Thomson Shotwell and others of the Columbia group who created the "new history" in this country but have never presented their doctrines and methodology in fully articulate and comprehensive published material. Yet Professor Barnes is no fanatical apostle of a Robinsonian monotheism, for he gives full recognition to the progressive historians and social scientists both in this country and abroad. By virtue of the nature of its content the book is as important for those who are cultivating the "social studies" as for the more alert and dynamic students of history. Its organization is genetic and synthetic throughout. Each social study is introduced with a brief but concise historical sketch. The result, however, is not a mosaic, one part being riveted to another. On the contrary, the social studies and history are so well inter-related that it is extremely difficult to say where one ceases and another begins. The skill with which these subjects, which appear as distinct and separate fields in academic curricula, have been synthesized into a single dynamic approach is truly remarkable, and reveals

both the author's broad grasp of the social sciences and his keen, sympathetic appreciation of their mutual dependence and inter-functioning. Each chapter is a veritable mind of discriminating bibliographic references.

Anthropology, Dr. Barnes regards as the most satisfactory background for the new history. From it we derive time perspective, the comparative viewpoint, emphasis upon the basic cultural processes and a demonstration of the unity of history. Psychology, especially Freudian and the newer dynamic psychology, is an indispensable tool in the equipment of the historian who is to give his data adequate interpretation. Economics, Sociology and Geography as well as Political Science are seen to coöperate with history and the other studies in giving us a rounded view of human culture. Especially significant is the chapter on the history of science and technology, for these important factors, perhaps the most fundamental and pervasive in Western civilization, have often been almost entirely ignored by conventional historians.

This book was not written in the mildewed stack room of a campus library, but rather in the full light of day, where keen appreciation of the human situation constantly impinges upon both author and reader alike. Perhaps the chapters on ethics and social intelligence best illustrate this spirit, though it permeates the entire work. Here is a striking and caustic indictment of the archaic social philosophy which is perpetuated by ignorance, obscurantism, complacency, conceit, semi-sacred lore and a childish faith in the "wisdom of the Fathers." Conditions have changed—"the times are out of joint"—and unless we take drastic measures to adjust our social science and philosophy to technological progress, disaster will inevitably overtake us. Dr.

Barnes does not evangelically assure us that "everything will come out all right in the end," nor does he croak dismal prophecies of impending doom. But he does make quite clear that unless guidance by critical science and emancipated intelligence is substituted, in increasing measure, for the blind acceptance and execution of archaic dogmas by the irrational herd, our civilization may in the end prove to be a Frankenstein, a monster which will hound us to our destruction.

LESLIE A. WHITE.

University of Chicago.

STATISTICAL METHODS APPLIED TO ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS. By Frederick Cecil Mills. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924. xvi, 604 pp. \$3.60.

The writer of a text book on statistics has a difficult task to perform. There are two principal objectives or modes of treatment, first, exposition of the mathematical concepts which are an essential part of methods for handling statistical material, and secondly, description of methods of gathering and collecting such material for use as a basis for conclusions. In applying either of these to any particular subject matter, the characteristics of the data with which the statistician is dealing must be kept in mind, since they may vitally affect the methods to be applied and the conclusions to be drawn. This is, indeed, the justification for a special treatise on statistics of economics and business as distinguished from general unspecialized treatises. The varying emphasis upon these two aspects of statistics by different writers helps to explain the great diversity in their methods of treatment and the difficulty of pleasing all who might use any particular work. In reviewing a book in this field, therefore—which, indeed, a single volume can scarcely hope to cover—it is but fair to

set forth the point of view of the author and attempt to ascertain how successfully he accomplishes his purpose.

Professor Mills' treatment emphasizes the mathematical and analytical devices and methods applicable to the problems of business and economic statistics. He aims to present these methods in such simple and non-technical language as will make it possible for the student not particularly versed in mathematics, if not to understand mathematical proofs—upon which the author lays no stress,—at least to follow the uses and understand how to calculate the various formulae presented. His illustrations are drawn largely from the field of economics. The selection of topics is guided by the requirements for analysis of economic problems. Since many of these methods have been recently developed, gathering them together in this book, with its clear expositions, fills a real need. On the other hand little attention is given to problems of collecting and selecting data for analysis.

After a brief introductory statement of the functions of statistics the author introduces the reader to the elementary principles of coördinate geometry, the presentation of which is both brief and illuminating. The principles of graphic presentation are next discussed, including the simple and fairly obvious rules devised by the Joint Committee on Standards for Graphic Presentation. Logarithmic charts are mentioned with a brief explanation of their uses.

Three chapters are devoted to the exposition of the statistical concepts of frequency distributions, the median, the mode, arithmetical, geometrical and harmonic means, and measures of variation and skewness. These require little comment, though the case for the inclusion of the harmonic mean is not as convinc-

ingly put as it might be: the student of economics might well inquire why he should be interested in it at all, since the illustrations which are given of its use seem to smack of the problems in the algebra books.

Index numbers and the analysis of time series are considered in four chapters. These seem to fulfill most successfully the aim of introducing the student of economics to the statistical methods which he requires for analyzing his problems. The problems are stated; the student is shown that analysis is necessary if he is to get at the facts and the causes in which he is interested; and then, the student's interest having been awakened, he is introduced to the methods by which he can obtain an insight into these problems.

Index numbers are illustrated with special reference to price changes in time. Particular attention is given to Professor Fisher's analysis; his conclusion as to the "ideal" index number is stated with approval. The details of the construction and uses of the principal American index numbers of wholesale prices are described. But only eight pages are given to index numbers of retail prices, of the cost of living, of the buying power of farm products, of money wages and of real wages.

In the two chapters devoted to time series, two problems are singled out: the measurement of trend and the measurement of seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. This discussion follows the same sound pedagogical principle as was applied to the subject of index numbers, first showing the reader the need for appropriate methods of analysis and then explaining them. Among these methods the procedure of simple curve fitting is described and illustrated. Other important methods discussed include the deflation of prices as a step in analyzing production trends,

the moving average, the method of link relatives, the determination of "normal" values, and the measurement of cyclical fluctuations.

A chapter is devoted to index numbers of physical volume of production. This seems out of place; the discussion introduces no new problems of method except incidentally in the description of existing indexes; and the special difficulties of selecting the basic data in this field are largely ignored.

Five chapters treat of correlation, estimation, and allied problems. The subject of linear correlation is approached from the problem of estimation. Correlation in time series is treated with emphasis on the difficulties of interpreting the results. The discussion of non-linear correlation includes treatment of the index of correlation, which represents an original contribution on the part of Professor Mills to statistical theory, and of the correlation ratio. In each case methods of computation are explained, with illustrations and notes on short cuts. The chapter on the problem of estimation discusses the application of the measures for variability to logarithmic values. A short chapter deals with partial and multiple correlation. To the mathematical statistician these chapters are of special interest because of the clear and original presentation of these subjects.

Professor Mills lays more stress here upon methods and mathematics of computation than in the discussions of index numbers. Nevertheless except in the chapter on the use of correlation in discovering lag in time series, he is less successful in keeping to the fore the uses of these methods in economic statistics. This is partly due, perhaps, to the great difficulty in drawing definite conclusions from the application of the coefficient of correlation; indeed the discussion of the

limitations on the use and interpretation of its results seems almost sufficient to dissuade the student from attempting to apply it.

The two final chapters in the book treat of the normal curve of error and of the theory of sampling. Although the calculation of the normal curve is illustrated by application to the frequency distribution of the "annual message use of 995 telephone subscribers" nowhere is there any convincing explanation of any purpose to which the student can apply the results when calculated. Concrete practical applications of such results would not only stimulate interest but would be helpful in guiding the student in applying these methods to practical problems. The chapter on the problem of sampling emphasizes the mathematical concept of "standard error." Though a paragraph is devoted to the necessity for a representative sample, practical methods for insuring that the sample selected is really representative are not explained. If this subject were illustrated by reference to the price indexes, for example, the discussion would be more concrete and more valuable. Furthermore, no attention is paid to the plain or garden variety of errors, which are always to be guarded against in economic as in other kinds of statistics.

In general the weaknesses of the book appear to be due in large part to the overemphasis placed by the author upon the purely mathematical problems. This bias appears partly in the selection of topics and partly in the presentation. At the same time certain useful, though elementary, methods which the student of economics might find of value are ignored, such as the methods of simple and multiple classification and the general method of standards (one application of which is to index numbers).

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In short, as an introduction to statistical methods for the student of economic problems, the book falls short of complete success. Nevertheless, as a clear exposition of mathematical-statistical concepts and of methods for analyzing economic and business statistics it fills a real need.

ROBERT M. WOODBURY.

Institute of Economics.

STATISTICAL METHOD IN EDUCATIONAL MEASUREMENT.

By Arthur S. Otis. New York: World Book Co., 1925. 337 p. \$3.50.

In the past books concerned with the use of statistics in mental measurement have been written for the statistician and used by the instructor in the classroom as a guide for the interpretation of statistical methods to the student. With a very few exceptions, the most outstanding being Ruggs' *Statistical Methods*, these books have been very rough going for the beginner in statistical processes. In Dr. Otis's *Statistical Method in Educational Measurement* the needs of the beginning student have been kept in mind. Few explanatory gaps in the development of statistical technique appear, as they do in Kelly's *Statistical Method*, to mar the continuity of development. While Dr. Otis's book is written primarily for those interested in scientific methods in education it is only the illustrative material drawn from educational sources that would make it less usable in the analysis of industrial problems by the industrial psychologist or even in the study of social institutions by the sociologist. It will undoubtedly be welcomed with open arms by instructors who are contending with the problem of presenting in an elementary fashion the quantitative procedure of the "less exact" sciences.

While the usual topics necessary to an understanding of statistics are treated

there is in addition a notable contribution to the literature. From the accumulation of methods during the last few years, scattered throughout the journals of psychology and education, there have developed new procedures, short-cuts, graphs, charts, tables of norms, etc., the best of which have been brought together here. The book introduces the student first, to the comparison of groups by the method of central tendency and carries the student through correlations, including both partial and multiple, to the measure of reliability. A very adequate presentation of the use of percentiles is included, while dispersed throughout the various chapters is found explanatory material concerning numerous concepts of mental measurement, such as mental age, the normal curve, the growth of intelligence, the meaning of correlations and the use of norms, all particularly good for the beginning student. The book is a clear, simple exposition of statistical procedure by a statistician who is not afraid of making his technique easily understandable. Throughout it conforms in an interesting manner to the writer's purpose of presenting an interpretation of quantitative data in the field of mental measurement.

DOUGLAS FRYER.

New York University.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES APPLIED TO TEACHING.

By William Henry Pyle. Baltimore: Warwick & York, 1924. Vol. VIII, 197 pp. \$1.50.

THE DECROLY CLASS. By Amelie Hamaide. Translated from the French by Jean Lee Hunt. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1924. 318 pp. \$2.00.

FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By Charles C. Peters. New York: The Macmillan Company. 447 pp.

Three different lines of the development of the science of education are represented by these books. The first

belongs to the class of useful compendiums published for practical workers requiring some knowledge of Psychology. It restates conclusions reached in the author's "Principles of Learning" and adds numerous practical illustrations from a wide variety of school subjects. Facts and principles are baldly stated. It is assumed that the reader will consult the "Principles of Learning" for evidence in support of these.

The form of the book is that of a working manual. Alternate pages are blank. On these the teacher is advised to note illustrations of psychological facts and laws from her classroom experience. Thus the author's aim is to assist busy teachers by showing how Psychology applies in the situations with which they deal. The illustrations given by the author are not intended to be all-inclusive, but rather to be sufficiently representative to show how in general applications can be made.

It is generally conceded that it is desirable to provide in addition to the usual textbook describing the laws of learning specific applications to the teaching process. In a sense, however, this type of publication is comparable to the practical engineer's book of rules and in time it will be displaced by books on the psychology of the separate school subjects. With the limited period now devoted to the preparation of teachers there is still occasion for such texts. They serve a valuable purpose in stimulating observation and analysis of the learning processes of children.

Some of the principles presented might be challenged. Certain practical deductions also are based on very little experimental evidence. The phraseology is occasionally lacking in clarity and grace. The phrase "motor movements" which occurs several times (v. page 14) is particu-

larly clumsy. The general aim of the manual, however, is admirable and is on the whole attained.

The second publication is likewise of practical interest to American teachers and is an excellent illustration of the kind of studies that we can expect from the Progressive Education Movement. They agree in advocating the deliverance of the school from the formalism, which besets it and the establishment in the class room of conditions comparable to those which are found in the world outside to stimulate learning and to develop character. "The Decroly Class" presents with lucidity in two prefaces, one by Claparède, and one by the translator the educational principles, which Dr. Decroly's wide experience in three fields—medicine, psychology and education—caused him to formulate, while the body of the book is devoted to samples of the subject-matter and descriptions of the methods of teaching that such principles have led to in practice in the school founded by Decroly and in the public schools of Brussels, which have been directed by Mlle. Hamaïde.

The purposes served by this English translation differ from those which the book fulfills in Belgium. To teachers there it offers new points of view in theory, in subject-matter, and in methods of teaching. To American readers, however, the educational principles presented are already familiar. Dewey has advocated them for a generation. The type programs have, on the other hand, new and fruitful suggestions for teachers here. They reveal admirable fertility and originality of ideas and are genuine contributions. The methods of instruction described in the "Decroly Class" can be observed in many American progressive schools, though they undoubtedly represent an advance on general practices.

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That both curricula and methods have been proved successful in public schools has significance. The fact, also, that both principles and practices have been arrived at independently abroad, and have achieved success will kindle interest in institutions here, which have as their aim the reconstruction of the elementary school by similar means.

The English version of the "Decroly Class" is unusually felicitous in style. The vigor of the original is not lost in translation, and will tend to encourage the acceptance of the point of view presented. Rarely is so high a standard of excellence in translation attained.

The outstanding contribution of "The Foundations of Educational Sociology" is the analysis given of the newer quantitative methods of determining the content of school curricula and the critical evaluation of these in relation to the fundamental purposes of education. The author holds that curricula should be developed on a scientific basis and that this requires "years of painstaking research on the part of many coöperating workmen." The present volume merely outlines some basic principles for the solution of the problem and indicates the spirit and the methods by which educational reconstruction can be brought about.

The first three hundred pages of the book consist of a discussion of the fundamental principles of educational sociology. The ground covered is familiar, but the manner of treatment and the emphasis is individual. The function of education is defined as preparation for life and the principles to be followed in fulfilling this function are stated to be utility, equality of opportunity, vocational guidance and the residual function of the school. These are treated in a series of chapters that show their implications for classroom work.

A general discussion of scientific pro-

cedure in social survey is given in chapter V of the first part, which is followed in Part II by a thorough consideration of scientific methods for determining the objectives of school education. Part II contains the most valuable chapters of the book inasmuch as it subjects to close scrutiny the newer ways of discovering the subject matter to be taught in schools. The writer defends the survey method and the need for isolating the objectives of education, but carefully defines the scope of quantitative methods and indicates in what direction fallacies are frequent. His criticism of the Method of Systematic Job Analysis and the Method of Defects is sound and timely.

He is less fortunate when he endeavors to formulate new methods of attack. In the main he follows the very general suggestions of John Stuart Mill, recommending the use of the Method of Agreement, the Joint Method of Agreement and Difference and the Method of Concomitant Variation, adding, to be sure, fruitful illustrations of their application in the educational field. He asserts, however, that Mill failed to include a method that now plays a larger rôle in scientific investigation than any of his five—namely the "Method of Hypotheses." This is scarcely just to Mill as it is generally conceded that his methods of induction presuppose hypotheses.

The chapter on Methods of Finding the Residual Function of the School is excellent and very valuable at this time of the redistribution of educational work between school and home. The appendices likewise, though merely tentative lists of objectives of education, are additions to present knowledge and will lead teachers in the desirable direction of eliminating the dead wood from the curriculum and admitting new material necessary to successful living now.

"Foundation of Educational Sociology"

deserves the attention of all engaged in school work on grounds of its penetrating analysis of the methods of curriculum-construction, which represents undoubtedly the most important phase of educational reconstruction today.

AGNES ROGERS.

PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOTHERAPY. By Dr. Pierre Janet; translated by H. M. and E. R. Guthrie. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. viii + 322 pp. \$3.00.

Far be it from the reviewer to venture to criticize the substance of a work by Janet. The present book is a translated condensation of the author's *Les médications psychologiques*, parts of which were included in lectures at Boston in 1904. There is a clarifying summary of the history of psychotherapies and pseudo-therapies, with well-balanced appraisal of their vogue, their collapse and the valid elements in each, a penetrating but less clear statement of his own synthesis of these valid elements, in the form of certain psychic laws or principles; these are followed by their possible applications in the more systematic diagnosis and selection of cases for treatment.

Janet claims (p. 6) that man first sought help from gods, later from mysterious and capricious natural forces. Both these stages have survived as interpretations of valid experiences. The problem is, not the reality of cures, but *in what this reality consists*.

Of Mrs. Eddy "the best one can say in her behalf is that as a delirious hysteric she had in a high degree the power of transforming her own desires into sincere belief." "It is first and always a concern for the treatment of the sick that directs all the thoughts of its author."

Of hypnotism he says: "It is a definite treatment with a restricted field of application . . . of which the results are

established." "The decline of hypnotism . . . is the result of accidental causes, of the feeling of regret and deception following unguarded enthusiasm." "The hypnotic state does not add any new power superior to the normal activity of men." "Suggestion . . . will not give them back a will that is lacking." "It would be very wrong to conclude . . . that . . . in certain subjects, criminal and dangerous acts could not be brought about by the mechanism of suggestion."

Of Freud he claims precedence: "He granted the truth of the facts and published some new observations of the same kind. In these publications he changed first of all the terms that I was using . . . he transformed a clinical observation and a therapeutic treatment with a definite and limited field of use into an enormous system of medical philosophy" "generalizing them beyond all reason." "What one should avoid is the subconscious that one never sees and that one is limited to constructing according to fancy" (p. 273). "Psychoanalysis . . . is a criminal investigation that must find a guilty party" (p. 274). "It is when one finds no explanation in the actual life of the patient that it is justifiable to seek into his past life."

"Psychoanalysis is to-day the last incarnation of those practices at once magical and psychological that characterized magnetism. It maintains the same characteristics, the use of imagination and the lack of criticism, the vaulting ambition, the contagious fascination, the struggle against orthodox science. It is probable that it will also meet with undeserved appreciation and decline; but, like magnetism and hypnotism, it will have played a great rôle and will have given a useful impulse to the study of psychology" (p. 46).

Bleuler is named (p. 45) only among Freud's pupils, and Jung is hardly noticed.

Janet describes (pp. 136, 189, 194) what sound like chain reflexes, engrams, fixation and repression without utilizing those expressions. He refers to patients who suffer from feelings of incompleteness and to the gastro-intestinal theory of neuroses, without referring to the authors of *The Neurotic Constitution* and *The Nervous Stomach*. Nor does he mention the work of Kempf and other noteworthy American psycho-pathologists. Coué is ignored, but so is Alexander. MacDougal's restriction of energy-charges to the instincts is rejected (p. 137). On page 230 he refers curiously to a "vital instinct" which turns out, on the next page to be "vital functioning:" virtually metabolism.

Like Kempf, and others of the American school, Janet recognizes the essential unity of "mind" and "body," as well as possible dissociation (along other lines of cleavage) of parts of this organic unity. "Psychotherapy is an application of psychological science to the treatment of diseases." The current decline in its popularity will give way, with the growth of psychology, to its more discriminating study and practice.

The three leading types of psychotherapy are those based upon hypnotism, upon the economy of forces, and upon stimulation. The principle put forth most prominently is, of course, that of economy of psychic energy, with its corollaries in the treatment of exhaustion by mobilization of forces, by tapping of hidden resources, by channelizing and conserving, organizing and stimulating energies. The organism's behavior is discussed repeatedly under the budget metaphor, offering an interesting parallel to the conceptions of surplus and deficit in respect to standards of living, as worked out by the social economists.

Janet breaks down the factitious distinction between organic and functional diseases, except that certain physical conditions can be remedied through functional treatment, i.e., through stimulation of changes in behavior, i.e., psychotherapy (p. 256).

The importance of social factors in mental disease is repeatedly recognized or implied. The rôle of situation is stressed (pp. 101, 120, 160/3, 284). The divided self (pp. 118, 127/8, 133/5, 158); the mirrored self (p. 120); the person's conception of his rôle (p. 238); the importance of simplifying life for the socially inadequate (pp. 188, 281); social institutionalization of character trends, whether considered beneficial or morbid (pp. 199, 204/5, 281), effects of isolation (pp. 281/3, 179 ff); complexes due to family interaction (pp. 283/4); social institutions, custom, etc., as labor-savers, economizers of psychic force for the weak (pp. 208/9); the rôle of suggestion (pp. 128/30); social conflict in relation to exhaustion and refreshment (pp. 193/7, 215/9); the reconditioning of responses through social stimulation (pp. 195, 211/3); the releasing effects of social shock (pp. 218/9); assimilation or accommodation as socio-psychic processes (pp. 242/3); the rôle of personal domination (p. 250 and elsewhere); neuroses as adaptive, experiments in social behavior which have become socially unadapted, unadaptive, unsuccessful (pp. 224/5); the effects of modern competition in over-stimulation and exhaustion (pp. 271/2, 275):—these are among the social-psychological points discussed or implied in the text.

Janet claims that tendencies of the sort often called primitive instincts have a "strong charge" or endowment of force. "The rational and moral tendencies, on the contrary, have unfortunately received a very small endowment." One wonders

if it might not be preferable to ascribe the apparent weakness or instability of the social "coenotropes" or pseudo-instincts to their complex, balanced, inhibited structure. Occasional fortunate persons are found organized with such internal harmony and so fully endowed, that their rational and moral "drive" is very powerful.

For the classifying sociologist, as for the classifiers in psychiatry, Janet has this old but well-phrased warning (p. 255 ff): "There is never anything absolute in a classification: diseases like living beings form a continuous series in which we establish divisions according to our needs."

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THE BASIS OF RACIAL ADJUSTMENT. By THOMAS JACKSON WOOFER, JR., Ph.D. New York: Ginn and Company, 1925. 251 pp. \$1.40.

Although Mr. Woofter does not write as the official spokesman of the white leaders in the movement for inter-racial coöperation in the South, the appearance of this book is significant as it will indicate the position of these men and women who have never formulated a creed. The book is the result of much research and the facts are stated generally with the coolness of scientific investigation. It is strikingly free from the usual hysteria that characterizes southern writers on the race problem. The author discusses the problem with frankness and gives few evidences of the resistances that one finds in the recent scrap-book by Weatherford.

The author states in his preface that the purpose of the book is "primarily an effort to give authentic facts concerning the different phases of Negro life in the United States." In this the book succeeds very well. In the first chapter the author gives a concise statement of the

results of the latest anthropological and psychological research as to racial differences. However, he still believes in the mythical Anglo-Saxon who is supremely fair and supremely just. Doubtless, the book may serve as a means of acquainting certain sections of the white population of the South with many facts about the Negro.

Mr. Woofter holds the opinion that the two races may live side by side without physical amalgamation. He offers in support of this opinion the case of the Jews and Gypsies. But the author's evidence supports the opposite opinion, for the Jews have conformed to the physical type among whom they have lived, while the Gypsies who are voluntary social outcasts are not a part of any community.

There is in the book too much of an attempt at rationalization of the southern position. The author seems to make the Negro problem center about the fact of the lower cultural level of the Negro. We are told that the Negro is inefficient economically and a menace to democratic political institutions because of his ignorance. Those acquainted with the southern situation know that lazy and shiftless Negroes are never driven out of the South; while thousands of economically efficient Negroes have been driven out because of their efficiency. This was the cause of the Arkansas riots. Throughout the book, we find reference to the Negro's finding a niche in American civilization. Beneath this we see the ever present attitude of assigning a place to the Negro, instead of leaving his social function to be determined as other citizens. Although he follows the custom of thinking that Booker Washington has furnished a basis for inter-racial coöperation, the Negro educated at Tuskegee often finds himself just as much out of place in the

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South as one educated at Howard University. Until the white man of the South is willing to recognize the Negro as a citizen with equal rights and privileges, there will always be a problem unless the Negro voluntarily becomes a serf. The refusal to treat the Negro as a citizen creates the whole problem. Some white men who do not advocate violence towards the Negro, do not seek justification in rationalizations as Mr. Woofter, but state firmly their determination to keep the Negro in an inferior position, simply because of his color. Judge Winston of North Carolina in an article in the July number of the *Current History* says frankly that "the South, not in anger or malice, but deliberately, has put the Negro down, and is keeping him down; has nullified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and has deprived him of his civil and political rights." Mr. Woofter would have us believe the suffrage restrictions are simply made in the interest of civilization.

If one should not accuse the author of bias in certain interpretations, one must note the lack of proportion in weighing the causes of inequalities. For example, in discussing the causes of injustice in the courts, he assigns three: prejudice, the economic position of the Negro, and the unreliability of the testimony of the Negro. He gives much space to the fact that the Negro is poor; almost skips over the fact of prejudice and emphasizes the unreliability of Negro testimony. In the South, any one knows that while the Negro suffers in court because of his poverty, the chief cause of injustice is the refusal to recognize his rights as a citizen. No matter what the Negro's education or culture may be, he never enters the court as a citizen. Strangely, the author ignores or forgets the political factor. Judges must give an account only to the

white rabble. In the Nation a year or so ago, Mr. Herrick contrasted the conduct of a British court in the West Indies with our southern courts. Moreover, in the South, the white man has every reason to give false testimony, and observation shows that he does in nearly every case where his word is pitted against that of a Negro, for he knows his word will be taken as true.

Mr. Woofter thinks the Negro objects to the Jim Crow car and segregation, because he receives unequal accommodation. Most Negroes whom I know object because it stigmatizes them as unfit for human association. Mr. Hussey's recent article in the *American Mercury* is a nearer approach to the real attitude of the Negro than such calculated defense reactions as Mr. Woofter has recorded.

The concluding chapter on race contacts seems to have been written to reassure the South that the author is orthodox. It is entirely inadequate for the problem is mainly one of contacts. The classification of helpful and harmful contacts is unsatisfactory as a guide to racial adjustment on a more civilized basis. For instance, he makes economic coöperation helpful, and unfair economic competition harmful. What about fair economic competition? Would Mr. Woofter advise Negroes not to ride in Pullman cars as it is at present a contact that creates friction?

This book may offer consolation to a group willing to remain serfs because there are men who will protect them from the grosser forms of injustice and violence, but it offers no hope to that growing number of self-respecting and intelligent Negroes who want to be treated as other people. The intelligent Negro will not accept the present arrangement as due to some "fundamental sociological principle." I do not know one intelligent young Negro who intends to stay in the

South longer than to accumulate and get a start in life. This book seems to confirm the statement of Winston in the above mentioned article that "the present social, political, and civil status of the

Negro is the high-water mark of his advancement" and the ambitious Negro must go elsewhere.

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LABOR AND SOCIETY

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 1840-1860. By Norman Ware. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. xxi, 249 pp. \$2.50.

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST. By John A. Fitch. New York: Harper & Brothers, [1924]. xiv, 424 pp.

THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1925. By the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science. New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1925. 488 pp. \$3.00.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN GREAT BRITAIN. By Felix Morley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. xviii, 203 pp. \$2.00.

BRITISH LABOR SPEAKS. Edited by Richard W. Hogue. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1924. 282 pp. \$2.00.

STATE EXPERIMENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. By William Pember Reeves. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. 2 vols., I, viii, 391 pp., II, vi, 367 pp. \$8.00.

DR. WARE'S book is a lively picture of "the reaction of American Industrial Society to the advance of the Industrial Revolution." Richly equipped with a fund of concrete detail and judiciously illuminated by a sufficiency of balanced and scholarly interpretation resting on sound psychological and sociological insight, the work provides an admirable model for a series of monographs on American Labor history. Such a series would offer a complement to the Commons history, with which Dr. Ware does not hesitate to differ, as for instance in a note dealing with the state of business in the forties:

Professor Commons (*History of Labor*, vol. 1, p. 487) claims that the depression following the panic

of 1837 continued until after the gold discoveries of 1849 with only a slight recovery 1843-44, that was not sufficient to affect the general conclusion of fifteen years' hard times. Professor Commons theory, that the labor movement swings from reformist to trade purposes with the fall and rise of industrial activity, would seem to have led him in this case to an exaggeration of the period of depression. The years 1843-46 were among the most prosperous that America had experienced up to that time. The letting-up from 1846-48 as a result of the Mexican War hardly affected industry at all, and the panic of 1848 was a momentary affair having little to do with industrial conditions. Professor Commons's thesis does not hold for this period. The reform wave and the returning prosperity are exactly coterminous, both beginning in 1843 and ending about 1850.

He takes issue also with Commons' representation of Horace Greeley as "the Tribune of the People, the spokesman of their discontent, the champion of their nostrums," who "drew the line only at spirit rappings and free love." Ware thinks it hard to tell who are intended by "the people" in this characterization.

Not the industrial worker surely. He had no "nostrums," had never heard of free love, and had no interest in spirit rappings. Greeley was the spokesman of the industrial workers to the extent that he told of their condition—though even in this he usually avoided the subject of factory labor—gave them good advice and interested himself in philanthropic schemes for their deliverance. Much of his advice to the worker could be briefly summed up: "Don't strike. Don't drink. Save your money and start in business for yourself." This was good advice no doubt but it hardly entitled the giver to the resounding title "Tribune of the People."

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Dr. Ware has no illusions about the rôle of the intellectual in the labor movement, an intrusion so serious in the period under consideration that "the worker had difficulty in making himself heard among so many orators and editors. . . . Unfortunately for the working-class movements of the forties, the intellectuals were always attempting to use them to advance their own plans. . . . At the same time it is necessary to insist that the labor movement was a reality and not simply a bogey created by the reformers to promote their own ends." It is such incisive comments on matters of perennial moment that make the book something more than a piece of history. Without moralizing it instructs.

The burden of the period was the resistance of the industrial worker (accompanied more or less by the sentimental reformer) to the rising tide of capitalism with its encroachment upon customary standards and upon the security and independence of the worker. "The capitalists," they complained, "have taken to bossing all the mechanical trades, while the practical mechanic has become a journeyman, subject to be discharged at every pretended 'miff' of his purse-proud employer." It seems to have been this process whereby the worker became a commodity that was the center of the turmoil of the labor struggle.

Essentially, the protests of the forties were conservative, defensive in temper and purpose. Both the labor movement and the reform movements, including the so-called "socialism" of Brisbane and the so-called "agrarianism" of George Henry Evans, represented struggles to return to a past that had gone. Capitalism they regarded as the radical force, ruthlessly destroying the little liberties and amenities of another day, a new and alien power rising within the republican framework created by an earlier evolution.

This movement underestimated "the force

that lay behind the Industrial Revolution." By the fifties, however, a "possibilist" movement had arisen, an aggressive movement "seeking positive gains of a material sort for special groups of workers more favorably situated than the common run." Meanwhile the old tradition of community of interest between journeyman and boss was giving way to class-consciousness, a process illustrated in the pronouncements of the National Typographical Conventions.

In 1836, the National Convention, in an address to the printers of the United States, declared that "the interests of the employer and journeyman have been assimilated and we hope rendered permanent for the time to come." But in 1850, after the experience of fourteen years of "assimilated" interests and a constantly declining standard of living, the same organization came to the conclusion that "It is useless for us to disguise from ourselves the fact that, under the present arrangement of things, there exists a perpetual antagonism between Labor and Capital.

While Dr. Ware's work is primarily a pretty detailed account of the actual events of the period under study, certain sociological principles emerge. Thus the course of the period suggests the general impression that—

When the dominant group is at the beginning of its career, revolt tends to be of a defensive nature, seeking to ward off the subordination involved in the rise of a new power. When the new power is once fully established, revolt takes on an aggressive aspect seeking positive gains of a restricted sort, a "practical" as opposed to an "idealistic" programme. And, though this carries the analysis beyond our period, it is perhaps not out of place to suggest that, when the dominant power begins to decline, revolt is liable to return with more effective machinery to "idealistic" purposes comparable to those of the first stage.

Thus one would be led to speculate as to how soon the American labor movement may adopt a program of forward looking idealism as contrasted with its recent

infatuation over "1776" and "the Liberty Bell."

Coming to the present, we find that John Fitch has rendered a remarkable service to the general student and also to the labor interests by providing a telling analysis of the *Causes of Industrial Unrest*. Naturally such a book is not to be taken as a complete survey of the industrial system, which has many fine things to say for itself; but it is decidedly worth while to have a penetrating, far-reaching, and sympathetic account of what has been happening to the mind of the worker now that Capitalism is dominant.

Mr. Fitch traces the unrest of the workers to a variety of causes, some of them inherent in the process of industrial evolution whose earlier phases were sketched by Dr. Ware, others due to incidents of the job and of the wage bargain or of the struggle with the employer, still others growing out of practices of courts and other governmental agencies that have to deal with labor disturbances. Especially effective are such chapters as the one on "Company Towns," in which is set forth the iniquitous persistence of a feudal regime under which everything, government included, is the private property of an industrial corporation.

This book will be an eye-opener to most of the good Americans that read it; nor will the insight gained be all a dismal one. Attention is called to progressive features of union practice, such as the move of certain labor organizations in the direction of assuming responsibility for the efficiency of production, the establishment of labor colleges, the development of Health Centers under union auspices. Attention to such signs of the times would serve to counteract in many minds the common impression that labor organizations are for no purpose save to disrupt industry by strikes and sabotage.

The best way to keep up with current developments in the field opened by Mr. Fitch is to use systematically the *American Labor Yearbook*, the sixth volume of which is now available. This invaluable work of reference, covering such topics as Industrial and Social Conditions affecting Labor, Trade Union Organization, Labor Disputes, Labor in Politics, Labor Legislation, Court Decisions Affecting Labor, Civil Liberties, Workers' Education, Labor Banking, Coöperation, Public Ownership, International Relations of Labor, is a notable illustration of the fact that it is possible for intense partisans to produce a scientific work of the most substantial, unbiased, and reliable sort. Those responsible for the preparation and publication of the *American Labor Yearbook* are Socialists or Communists, but no one can take any exception to the manner in which they have done their work. The present volume is a well-digested store of intimate information about the doings and experiences of Labor here and abroad in all its fields of activity and interest and is indispensable to all colleges, universities, newspapers, and social organizations, as well as to individuals who are anxious to keep informed on the most momentous movements and tendencies of modern times. Information will be found even on such items as the Ku Klux Klan, academic freedom, the Pioneer Youth of America (a new labor organization of youth, designed to take the place of the Boy Scouts), superpower, and waste in industry.

The *Yearbook* contains an interesting tabulation of the small number of unemployment insurance schemes now in effect in American industries, and throws thus an interesting side-light on Morley's *Unemployment Relief in Great Britain*; for Mr. Morley's main point is the superiority of unemployment insurance by Industry

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as contrasted with the State scheme that has been in operation in England since before the War. In support of his preference, he presents elaborate statistical evidence and exhaustive analysis of the British unemployment insurance scheme associated with the State employment bureaus. He finds that the insurance plan broke down absolutely when the first severe strain was put upon it (by the severe unemployment following the war), and he contends that it has been a stone around the neck of the employment service, which has been handicapped in its work of finding positions for the unemployed by the necessity of handling the complicated problems of out-of-work insurance. He concedes that some element of state insurance may have to be continued, but argues for the transfer of the insurance scheme to the several industries as far as feasible, on the ground that—

Control in industry is flexible; control in bureaucracy is rigid. Industry can adapt itself to altering conditions and quickly shape new courses when they are necessary. The State has not the power to vary its unemployment insurance program as swiftly as the facts of economic life demand. Each industry knows the needs and conditions of its particular field. The State must treat all alike, opposing flat conformity to that diversification and initiative from which springs progress.

The evidence presented by Mr. Morley undoubtedly shows that the English unemployment insurance scheme was unable to meet post-war conditions; but his book does not carry conviction on his main thesis. It may be that the State is not the proper agency for the performance of business functions, but the impartial person is not likely to be convinced by a writer who evidently is firmly convinced in advance and then in a heady and opinionated way assembles evidence tending to make out his case. Supposing there had been no scheme of state insurance,

would the British industries have adopted a voluntary scheme manifesting that "initiative from which springs progress?" Does the fact that the scheme launched by the state was relatively ineffective necessarily indicate anything more than that it was impossible to devise out of whole cloth a fool-proof arrangement in a new field? Does a state scheme have to be operated by a governmental bureaucracy, or might it be handed over to a publicly owned corporation operating along the lines of an approved business enterprise? Very likely the current revulsion against the State and against governmentalism is wholesome on the whole; but it is hardly seemly to make a sentimental antipathy the ground for final decision in a matter so serious as the relief of unemployment.

The chapters in Mr. Hogue's volume, *British Labor Speaks* are reports of addresses and discussions in London before an "American research group." Some notion of the tone of the proceedings may be gathered from the fact that "the plan was conceived and inaugurated by Dr. Sherwood Eddy," who had as his assistant Mr. Kirby Page, both of whom are conspicuous among that group of religious leaders who are trying to find a current expression for the principles of Christianity and to rally people to a social gospel. The churchly or the religious interest is disclosed in the questions asked of the speakers by members of the conferences.

If we were publishing a volume entitled *American Labor Speaks*, it would hardly occur to us to include addresses by the managing director of a cocoa works or by the representative of a candy manufacturing company, not to mention an episcopal ecclesiastic. Their inclusion in the present volume recalls what Dr. Ware says about the worker's difficulty in making himself heard among so many

other voices. One may be entitled to wonder why a body of American inquirers into the British situation found no more direct connections with the mind of Labor than are set forth in this series of talks by officials, functionaries, and friends of Labor rather than by the men in the mine and at the machine. The whole performance is pretty tame and can not be taken as giving an adequate record of what Labor itself would say. It is hard to believe, for instance, that the masses of workers would be interested in Snowden's meticulous effort to show that a capital levy would not be confiscation. Why should Labor leaders be so shy of "confiscation" when all government obviously rests on confiscation (taxation)? One can not be very enthusiastic about a movement which deals in casuistical technicalities, or in wishy washy sentimentalities such as Bishop Gore utters in his part of the book. Is this volume the real voice of Labor?

Such unkindly queries do not need to bar us from recognizing that Mr. Hogue has rendered a service of a kind in bringing before us in chatty form a good many facts and opinions about affairs in Britain. It is possible to draw from the book lessons that were not intended, as for instance the confession (by Mr. Snowden) that a political party can not have principles. Of course the cat is not let out of the bag in so many words, but it gets out all the same. It is worth while, doubtless, to listen to Ramsay MacDonald on Labor's Ideals and his bold confession that he feels he "would be helping to crucify Christ again" if he "helped to support the work of organized Christianity as it is now." Margaret Bondfield, Leonard Woolf, G. D. H. Cole and others give a worth while insight into labor attitudes and problems. One can hardly believe, however, that the American

visitors were brought much nearer to the world's salvation by the contacts represented in this volume.

It is almost a quarter century too late to review with enthusiasm an account of nineteenth century governmental experiments in the antipodes, especially when the publishers carefully refrain from giving any clue to the fact that their publication is but a reprint of a work first published in 1902. The reader would perhaps be willing to read a history written today on Australasia between 1881 and 1902, but it is rather exasperating to run through volumes in which "now" and "today" mean 1901 when he would have expected to find an account written from the standpoint of the present. In this instance the publishers have adopted a practise as vicious as that of others who are falling into the habit of announcing as if published books that may not come out for months.

Mr. Reeves' account of what used to be called "socialistic" ventures undertaken in New Zealand and Australia is written from the standpoint of an official participant rather than from that of a cold-blooded observer, but the account he gives of the women's movement, the land question, the labor question, old-age pensions, immigration restriction, and social reform are of sufficient value to warrant the continued use of his book for purpose of historical reference.

PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY. AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. By G. Watts Cunningham. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1924. xvii, 453 pp. \$3.50.

Introductory books are seldom to be prized for their content as well as for their form. The teacher who takes up this book with an eye to its availability as a text will find himself forgetting to look for pedagogical devices because he

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has become interested in the thought content. Pedagogical devices, however, are by no means absent or thoughtlessly employed—short chapters carefully confined to single topics; clear, brief summaries; thought provoking questions; well chosen biographical and bibliographical notes. The material of the book is dominated by the interests of the logician. This will not be approved by all but it has the advantage of providing the clearest possible outline for presenting the great historical problems and solutions of philosophy. In definitely rejecting the 'intuitive' method of philosophy (pp. 80, 81) the author at once brings his treatment into line with the dignified and ancient tradition of scientific inquiry. On page 79 he presents the general outline of study. The first part of the inquiry is logical or epistemological: the second part is a critical examination of the major categories of science—matter, life, mind, value. The first part is fruitful in controversy but the author has carefully avoided going beyond the limits imposed by experience. Thus, in his treatment of causation he avoids rejecting the pluralistic theory by an all but artificial admission of the weight of its *argumentum ad ignorantiam* contentions. In the second part of the book the material is less persuasive because in the space given a vast complexity of argument can be little more than presented in outline. The reader will, however, find here guidance in the study of every important philosophical question—a suggestion of its treatment in the history of thought and important bibliographical material. The outstanding virtues of the book as a text are that the author has history always at hand and that the latest theories are vitally connected with earlier ones. This properly conveys to the mind of the student the need of further study and sets

the problem of further study as that of developing perspective.

H. G. TOWNSEND.

Smith College.

THE NEWER SPIRIT. By V. F. Calverton. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925. 284 pp. \$2.50.

In an introduction to this volume by Earnest Boyd, contemporary literary criticism is catalogued as either "moralizing" or "pseudo-aesthetic." Therefore he welcomes Calverton's exposition and defense of sociological criticism as a "challenge" to moralizers and aestheticians. *The Newer Spirit* is a pioneer work in this field. It is amply documented, and in the main remarkably convincing.

The first and basic essay, "Sociological Criticism of Literature," is a "compact summary of the evolution in literature from the aristocratic ideas of feudalism to the rise of the middle class, and finally the proletariat—the last two marking off modern from classical literature." The ideas of the proletariat, then, govern contemporary literature. In the second essay Calverton demonstrates his thesis in a lengthy evaluation of Sherwood Anderson. In Anderson the proletariat are treated as fit "material for tragedy"—an attitude resulting from changed social conditions. Anderson's aestheticism is the only true (sociological) aestheticism of America today because, "Our land is wide and loose and crude. Its surface and substance are shifting and chaotic. It is immature. Therefore the poetry and prose that we have must express this looseness and immaturity if they are to be an exact reflection of our nation." And in Anderson's own words: "Honest Americans will not demand beauty that is not yet native to our cities and fields."

But after reading the Anderson criticism one may say: "What is original or unusual about this? True: Anderson is the

champion of the masses. True: Anderson's style, charming and poignant, is yet in keeping with his material. Nevertheless, one has read all this a hundred times."

In one sense, there is nothing new in this treatment of Anderson, nor for that matter in Calverton's expression of the evolution of literature. And yet I can recall no other volume which so completely and convincingly summarizes the value of the sociological and psychological bases of criticism. It is as a synthetic achievement that *The Newer Spirit* deserves to be called a pioneer work.

In one respect at least, however, the validity of his sociology may be questioned. The prominence which Calverton gives to environmental determinism will not meet with universal approval. All the workings of society are, according to Calverton, the result of environmental stimulus and response. Even heredity is dismissed briefly as environmentally determined. He regards all qualitative concepts as scientifically quantitative. Carrying Calverton's sociology to its logical

end, society would eventually evolve to that impersonal, mechanistic state amusingly described in Zamiatin's "We."

Is there, then, no qualitative, or aesthetic, constant? No, if we believe Calverton. But how can we account for twentieth century appreciation of Greek tragedies, Hamlet, Henry Esmond? It is true that aesthetic values are impermanent, that Shakespeare's plays have a value today which is less, perhaps, than in the early seventeenth century. Nevertheless, allowing as much as one will for the change in understanding and appreciation accompanying the evolution of society, there is a residue of beauty in these things which perseveres. It is this constant which Calverton ignores.

The Newer Spirit, however, is a significant book, championing as it does the scientific spirit in criticism. Its cocksureness is occasionally irritating, its labored writing unattractive, but Calverton holds consistently to a point of view absolutely essential to effective criticism.

CARL A. WILLIAMS.

EVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE DOGMA OF EVOLUTION. By L. T. More. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925. 387 pp. \$3.50.

THE CASE AGAINST EVOLUTION. By G. B. O'Toole. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. xlv, 408. \$3.50.

THE EVOLUTION OF ANIMAL INTELLIGENCE. By S. J. Holmes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923. 296 pp.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By J. A. Thomson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. Pp. vii, 280. \$2.00.

CONCERNING EVOLUTION. By J. A. Thomson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. X, 245 pp. \$2.50.

GENETICS AND EUGENICS. A Text-Book For Students of Biology and a Reference Book For Animal and

Plant Breeders. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 3d Ed., Revised, 1924. 434 pp.

THE interest in the evolution controversy increases rather than subsides. During the past year new books dealing with the relation of evolution to the problems of life have poured from the presses in numbers probably never before equalled, while publishing houses report that earlier books on similar themes are having unprecedented sales. Some of this literature relates primarily to the biological aspects of evolutionary concepts, but by far the

largest portion is concerned with the significance of the doctrine of evolution for problems of life, mind, morals and religion.

Of the books above mentioned that by Professor L. T. More, Professor of Physics at the University of Cincinnati, pretentious, disgusting to the scientific mind, and calculated to do great injury at the present stage of popular controversy. It reads like an attempt of Wm. J. Bryan to invade the field of scholarship and philosophy. It is a nearly complete obfuscation of both reason and scholarship. While in one place the author disclaims any desire to enter upon a discussion of evolution as a scientific biological doctrine, he nevertheless devotes a very large portion of the book to an effort to demolish current biological concepts and thus gives it a distinctly biological setting. In fact, he manifests almost a phobia against Darwinism. The work is fundamentally an effort of a professor of physics to invade the realm of metaphysics through an inadequate knowledge of biological and historical data. He criticizes the biologists for having gone out of their field in extending their ideas of evolution to sociological problems, apparently not realizing that his own efforts to discuss the significance of evolution for society and religion represent an even greater departure of a physicist from his specialty. In the "Introduction" the author says that he is "trying to vindicate the belief in our spiritual nature." As one reads through the volume he discovers that the primary aim of the author is to defend a metaphysical dualism or pluralism whereby the physical, the vital and the psychological aspects of phenomena are kept in separate and unrelated compartments. In other words, by spiritual nature he means the separate and independent ex-

istence of the soul as an immaterial, non-corporeal entity, and the *raison d'être* of his lectures is the preservation of this belief as a basis for orthodox theology and religion. He speaks frequently of "the domination of science," of "scientific virus," and appeals to George Bernard Shaw's "methuselah" against the scientists as representing the wisdom of the age! Being a series of lectures delivered at Princeton University it carries the weight of a great university and can only add to the confusion of the popular mind at a time when a recrudescence of medievalism and intolerance threatened to inhibit freedom of thought and teaching on the issues here involved.

In order to make his case Professor More purposely ignores the scientific progress of the last twenty-five years in the study of biological, psychological, educational, religious and theological problems. He admits in his "Introduction" that he limits himself to "the work and ideas of the founders of the evolution theory, Lamarck, Spencer, Darwin, Huxley, Fiske and Haeckel" (p. 33) but pleads as excuse that "the purpose of the book is not to discuss the validity of evolution as a scientific, biological theory but rather to trace the effects of its application to the broader fields of social life and religion" (p. 34). One might have supposed, therefore, that the author would begin with a careful definition of terms and a thorough analysis of the meaning of the word evolution itself. Nevertheless, one searches in vain for a clear statement of just what he means by evolution. There is nowhere any systematic discussion of primary concepts. After the "Introduction" there follow in all eight chapters dealing respectively with the Greek and the Medieval attitudes toward science; the evidence for evolution as shown in paleontol-

ogy and geology; Lamarck, Darwin; the mechanistic view of life; and evolution in relation to society and to religion. The author repeatedly avers his acceptance of the evolution of organisms as the most rational and the most intelligible explanation of plant and animal life, but he reacts vigorously against the scientific monism which is deduced therefrom. Thus he says (pp. 21-22, p. 163, p. 303, *et passim*) that biological research "supports our faith in a general law of evolution. We accept it as we accept the law of conservation of matter, not because it can be proved to be true from experience, but because without it natural law is not intelligible. The only alternative is the doctrine of special creation which may be true but is irrational." In spite of his repeated disavowal of his intention to discuss evolution as a biological concept, and in spite of his repeated assertion of his acceptance thereof, he proceeds in the middle portion of his book to a serious-minded effort to demolish the generally accepted biological concepts. Malthus and all his ideas are summarily dispatched in less than three pages: "They are so manifestly false that it should be necessary merely to state them" (p. 204). He then proceeds to display his complete ignorance of the Malthusian doctrine. One indeed wonders whether he does not maliciously set up an utterly simple and inadequate statement of Malthus for the sake of deceiving the general reader and in order to show his own prowess in belaboring another straw man. In the same ignorant and simplistic fashion he disposes of the theory of natural selection and the concepts of variation and struggle for existence. His ignorance of recent biological research is appalling; his conception of biological theory amazingly simple; and what he conceives to be the rapier thrusts of clever dialectic

are merely the frantic bludgeonings of his own straw men by the humorless and mystified metaphysician.¹

In the later chapters the simplicity of concept and the ignorance of recent scholarly work is equally apparent. Amidst a confused and confusing jumble of psychological, sociological and religious speculation it only appears that the author is moved by a strong animus but is utterly incapable of extricating himself by clarity of thought from the emotional complex in which the inroads of modern science into his infantile moral and religious instruction have involved him. He is as ignorant of the recent work in biochemistry, psychological measurements, social history, religious origins and modernist theology as he had already shown himself to be of modern genetics, heredity and variation.

All of this is not to say that the book does not include many useful observations.

¹Space does not permit an enumeration of the crudities, misrepresentations, and errors scattered through the book. Ignorant, inadequate or misleading statements regarding the Darwinian theory of organic evolution and its supporters will be found on pages 21, 22, 187, 197, 208, 222, 225, 236, 320, etc. Professor More's lack of comprehension of even Darwin's theory, to say nothing of research since 1900, is shown by such phrases as "variation by natural selection" (p. 165), "variation caused by natural selection" (p. 167), "ideas which distinguish natural selection from other causes of variation" (p. 209) and similar phrases elsewhere. He proves to his own gleeful satisfaction that Darwin "absolutely abandons his whole theory of natural selection" (p. 227); but oddly enough Professor More, before the end of the chapter, expresses his own willingness to accept the theory (p. 235). The entire work abounds with similar crudities and exuberant inconsistencies. If, however, one wishes another illustration of ignorant perversity he will find a beautiful one in the discussion of the cell beginning on page 282. In this whole chapter, "Life as Mechanism," there is no reference to the work of Carrel, R. S. Lillie, Loeb, Benjamin Moore or any other experimental workers in bio-chemistry.

Warnings against the easy dogmatism of science are always wholesome. But it is, on the whole, a monumental piece of sophistry and hocus pocus. At no time does the author tell us what he means by evolution, least of all the evolution which he accepts. There appears to be throughout the book a confusion in his mind between evolution as logical a bi doctrine and evolution as a general philosophical doctrine applicable to every sort of phenomena. Now, in the last analysis, evolution as a general philosophy, not merely a biological doctrine, is synonymous with the theory of universal causation. It denies altogether the doctrine of special creation with reference to matter, life and mind, a doctrine which Professor More himself admits to be irrational (pp. 22 and 304). Evolution, as a general doctrine, thus implies that all the phenomena of the world are connected one with another in an endless chain of action and reaction.

With reference to every field of investigation one must choose between the operation of cause and effect and the operation of some metaphysical conception. More evidently accepts the latter of these alternatives for in the chapter on "Life as Mechanism" he speaks of "This governing principle, call it spirit, hyper-physical force, biotic force, or what you will" (284, 285, etc.). This puts us back into the hazy thinking of 1875 when even respectable thinkers thought they had added something to knowledge by the introduction of high-sounding metaphysical terms. All sociologists are familiar with Lester F. Ward's chemism, zooism, growth force, etc. This is God and satisfies More's emotional complexes. But what he apparently does not perceive is that this leaves him utterly ignorant of the actual cause and effect relationship on the natural plane. If, moreover, he

admits that the phenomena of life and mind are uniform and regular and may therefore be studied by the methods of science he admits that his God does not work in mysterious ways his wonders to perform but in those regular systematic ways which science can reduce to the relations of cause and effect. Professor More has not, therefore, saved the case for personalism, special divine intervention, and miracle. In fact in rejecting special creation as irrational he rejects the whole case for theological orthodoxy. Or perhaps he would have a little God who only now and then interferes with the operation of cause and effect. This is the position of Father O'Toole and serves at least to preserve a basis for orthodox religious faith. But having thus involved himself in an irreconcilable contradiction the author (pp. 332-3, *et seq.*) further exposes his naivete by adopting a thoroughly popular and unsophisticated conception of free will. This he thinks may have been produced by evolution (he says "development from the lower animals") or as "a special faculty added to man by a supernatural being." Having thus derived free will by one or another of two sorts of the "special creation" which he has repeatedly rejected he proceeds to use it as the agency whereby cause and effect is upset on the human plane. But this whole chapter, "Evolution and Society," is such a jumble of innuendo, spiteful but petty thrusts at scholars of two generations ago, and cute irrelevancies as to be quite unintelligible as a whole. And what satisfaction can one, who rejects the possibility of a science of society and the possibility of achieving that knowledge of social relations and cultural evolution which gives control, find in a blind faith that "the universe is under the control of an inscrutable Engineer who controls its ac-

tions and guides the world perhaps beneficently or perhaps ruthlessly" (p. 338).

Moreover, the author is hopelessly confused in his ideas regarding life and mind. He continues to think of life in the childish fashion which conceives it as an entity in itself. Now life is not a thing but a condition or state of being. It is no more a separable entity than is death, which is the opposite state or condition of being. Life is, in other words, a descriptive term for a certain physical and chemical condition of highly complex and integrated colloidal structures. As this condition alters, life ebbs and flows. A serious alteration of the essential conditions, as the injection of a poison, so alters the chemical state that the condition which is properly called life may cease and another condition known as death begin. The same confusion applies to the author's conception of mind. This also is not an entity, a separable, objective thing, but rather the functioning of highly organized and integrated nerve structures.

Dr. George B. O'Toole, a Catholic author in "The Case Against Evolution," has presented a work in every respect superior to the Princeton University volume. In the "Foreword" he rejects the idea of certain Catholic defenders of evolution that evolution will soon be generally accepted and that, therefore, official rejection by the Church will involve it in another Galilean incident. The first chapter contains the most effective brief statement of the "Present Crisis in Evolutionary Thought" which it has been the reviewer's privilege to read. In fact, the entire book is a masterpiece of scientific information, logical acumen and philosophical finesse. In comparison with More, whose general viewpoint and objective are the same, O'Toole is the

skillful and artistic juggler in contrast with the veriest bungler.

The argument in the second chapter reduces itself to the question of logical consistency in the action of heredity and variation. It is pointed out that the factors of variation acting in similar media may produce similar modifications which will then be passed on by heredity; acting in dissimilar media, dissimilar modifications which in turn would be passed on by heredity. Thus variation would now act to produce similarity and now diversity, and heredity would perpetuate the same. The action of variation and heredity would thus be superficially and logically inconsistent in sometimes producing likeness and sometimes unlikeness, but O'Toole is wrong in holding that this reveals an underlying inconsistency. To alter conditions will alter results. True, the *cause* or *causes* of variation remain dark and so long as this is true evolution in the sense of transformism remains a mystery, but the argument of logical inconsistency lacks cogency, and one sees no reason why the mystery may not ultimately be solved from the scientific viewpoint.

Chapter three makes serious inroads into the widely accepted proofs of transformism based on series of fossil forms. It is pointed out that there is as yet no possibility of reducing all forms to a single origin. Moreover, mere priority does not prove ancestry, nor mere succession, filiation. The troublesome cases of convergence show that very great similarities in structure may arise in wholly unrelated species. Even when a graded series of a single species is found, one must be skeptical of their appearance in the order represented in the series; they may be merely simultaneous mutants of the same ancestral forms; etc. Finally, the contentions of the orthodox, evolutionary

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geologists that the earth's strata were laid down in a definite order which was similar over the entire globe is unproven, even highly questionable, so that the assumed chronological order of fossils based on the geological series lacks proof. Moreover, there seems ample proof that some organic forms, both generic and specific, "have remained unchanged throughout the enormous lapse of time which has intervened between the deposit of the oldest strata and the advent of the present age" (p. 123), that is, through millions of years and apparently great environmental changes. Here "is an indubitable fact, which is utterly irreconcilable with the *universal law* of organic evolution."

There is much force in these contentions, especially in view of the fact that they are supported by a wealth of citation from the recent writings of world-famous biologists and geologists. In substance, however, it all amounts to saying that the case for biological evolution by transformism is not absolutely complete. That some forms have persisted demonstrates their hardihood and varied adaptability and the complexity of factors involved in the problem, but does not prove there have been no transformations.

It is a wholesome corrective for many of the scientific doubts raised by O'Toole's objections to Darwinism to read Professor Castle's clear and judicial exposition of the biological basis, the historical origins and the essential facts of genetics and their significance for eugenics. He will here find that natural selection as a useful concept even in regard to the origin of species is not abandoned and that mutation as now conceived tends to approach Darwin's idea of variation. The principal gain, however, will be that many of the scientific facts stated by O'Toole will

here be clarified. There is a great relief in another respect in turning from the philosopher to the scientist. Philosophy "leaves one cold" with a sense of loss of power and a feeling that man is after all helpless in the hands of an inscrutable power which may act toward man beneficently or malevolently, whereas science revives one's faith in the ultimate power of man to affect profoundly his own destiny through the acquisition of knowledge. If the sociologist feels any marked deficiency in Castle's work it is in the brevity of the section devoted to eugenics.

The arguments of O'Toole in the three chapters of Part II dealing with the origin of life, of the human soul and of the human body are as cogent as they can well be made. Here as elsewhere the author rejects fanciful theories, combs the entire range of scientific efforts, states arguments and evidence candidly and fairly with accurate command of both scientific objectivity and fact. He reaches the conclusion that life is different in *kind* not in *degree* merely from physico-chemical processes; that "the initial production of organisms from inorganic matter was due to the action of some supermaterial agency" (p. 179); but that this action was not a creative act but merely a formative act because the materials out of which living forms were constructed were already in existence. In like manner the author concludes that the soul of man is also a special creation inasmuch as "intelligence is a superorganic power having its source in a spiritual principle, that, from the very nature of things, cannot be evolved from matter" (p. 267). Finally the author from an extensive survey of physiological, paleontological and embryological evidence concludes that there is no proof that man evolved from lower animal forms; that, therefore, we can at

present go no further than the widely accepted belief that God created him.

This brief summary hardly does justice to the solidity of Father O'Toole's arguments. Nevertheless, certain of the criticisms advanced against More's position apply here also. In addition, one may point out that the fact that physico-chemical analysis has thus far been baulked in its effort to explain the phenomena of life is no ground for the conclusion that it will always be baulked. In this connection one may quote from Thomson's *Science and Religion* to the effect that one must beware of all arguments which transform "Ignoramus" into "Ignorabimus." In view of recent research O'Toole is compelled to admit that the phenomena of growth, variation in vitality, the known effects of foods and poisons, the weaknesses of sickness and the decay of powers in old age all have known chemical bases. When, therefore, he adopts a vitalist position and yet accepts the scientific approach to the problems of growth and metabolism, health, sickness, etc., he virtually invokes the assistance of a special creator in order to bring organisms into existence which thereafter will be governed in their actions and reactions by laws of cause and effect.

In fact, from the standpoint of theology this appears the most serious defect in the author's argument. He wishes to break the continuity of nature at three points; first, at the origin of life from matter; second, at the origin of mind or soul; and third, at the origin of the human body. The fundamental reason advanced for this position is the failure of science as yet to prove absolutely the untenability of the creationist view. He overlooks entirely the fact that special creation has itself no factual claims to validity. Its chief claim on our credulity is indeed merely its priority and its connection with

deeply ingrained tradition. But, as Professor Thomson points out in *Science and Religion* the efforts of theologians to break the continuity of nature has made them worse theologians than the scientists. "If God exists at all, he is a God of all nature and of every natural law. There are no gaps in His workmanship, no breaches of continuity in His activity. Nature in an activity of His and every natural law is a principle of that activity" (p. 25). Again in his "Concerning Evolution," a book which sketches the evolution of the earth, life and man, Thomson says: "Our present-day fauna and flora and their inter-relations have arisen without gaps, though not without leaps, from simpler antecedents which were their entire pre-conditions. There can be no dragging in of spiritual influxes to help the evolving organism over difficult stiles. It is a religious conclusion that a spiritual background is always there, and to that conclusion science can have nothing to say. But what is scientifically intolerable is the suggestion that the spiritual background is intermittently intrusive in the chain of natural events" (see also *ibid.*, p. 230).

This position of Thomson's is at least logical. The efforts of such theologians as O'Toole to reconcile science and theology by preserving the belief in an occasional infusion of divine power into the natural processes in order merely to break the continuity of nature which the doctrine of evolution establishes not only belittles the conception of divinity, but looks much like a mere grasping at straws.

The viewpoint of Professor Thomson in the two volumes noted above is at bottom that of Professor Lloyd Morgan in his *Emergent Evolution* (1923). This, as the quotation just given indicates, affirms the continuity of the evolutionary process

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from nebula to man, but sees no contradiction between this and the assumption of a spiritual power expressing itself in the natural order of the universe. In one of these books the world's most successful popularizer of biological science argues the matter primarily from the standpoint of one seeking to justify a religious view of nature and in the other from the standpoint of one seeking to justify evolution. In both the fundamental assumptions are the same. Thus the pan-psychism of the "Science and Religion" becomes the assumption that mind existed even in the nebula in the other. In both he remains the scientist and man of letters rather than the philosopher, though the scientific mind will not find much to quarrel with in either. His account of Darwinism pages 101 to 180 in *Concerning Evolution* is in his best style and contains answers to most of O'Toole's objections. On the question whether there is a purpose in the universe Thomson goes no farther than to say in italics that it *looks as if* there were, a view which may be nothing but an anthropomorphism.

Thomson's view thus leaves us with a God whose handiwork we may study and understand through science. It is not a God, however, that one can easily conceive as a person; certainly it is not one to whom one may appeal to alter the course of natural causes for one's benefit, for that would be to demand an alteration in an already perfect handiwork.

A very considerable addition to the literature of evolution is made by Prof. Holmes in his study of the gradual unfolding of animal intelligence from reflex actions and tropisms through instincts to genuine intelligence, which the author defines as the power of forming associations. This book is a veritable encyclopaedia of information regarding the researches and conclusions of students of

animal behavior. Protozoa, insects, crustaceans and molluscs, lower vertebrates, mammals, apes and monkeys are passed before the reader and put through their various stunts. Indeed, on the very lowest level it is shown that a drop of glycerine can be made to behave much like an amoeba—though not completely so. It's an extremely informing book, written with critical acumen in a clear, but simple style. It does not seem possible that one can read it and still hold that there is any break in the evolution of mind from amoeba to man. To the reviewer the evidence seems also to strongly enforce the conclusion that what we call mind consists of powers of reaction or functional modes; it is not a separable and objective something in itself, and is wholly dependent on living organic structures.

One additional point may be made in this review, namely, the failure of nearly every writer on these themes to distinguish between theology and religion. There is a vast difference between the conflict of science with theology and the conflict of science with religion. The theories of theology and the theories of science are in more or less direct conflict, because both are efforts to explain the nature of the universe. In last analysis neither position can be demonstrated with absolute completeness; both rest upon an act of faith. But in view of the scientific progress of the last hundred years there is a larger factual and experimental basis for the faith of the scientist that the reign of cause and effect are universal than for belief in any doctrines of special divine interference. The only possible reconciliation of science with theology, therefore, is along the lines posted by Thomson. One need not accept his Pan-Psychism which finds evidences of mind not only in man,

animals and plants but even in dust and rocks. And Professor Thomson himself fails to see that there is a vast difference between saying that mind existed in the original nebula and saying that there were elements in the nebula which, time and conditions favoring, would evolve into mind. But one may still hold that there is back of the universal reign of cause and effect some sort of mysterious potency.

The real problems of theology then become the question whether such a potency is in any sense personal; whether it actually can interfere with the natural order; and whether, therefore, it constitutes an effective basis for religious attitudes.

F. H. HANKINS.

Smith College.

CLASSIFIED BOOK NOTES

METHODOLOGICAL

REPORTING EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. By W. S. Monroe and N. B. Johnston. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1925. 61 pp. \$.50.

A brief but clear and useful plan for an accurate method of gathering, classifying and arranging data in the field of educational investigation. Especially valuable for graduate students in the departments of education.

H. E. B.

A STUDY OF SUPERVISED STUDY. By William Arthur Brownell. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1925. 48 pp. \$.50.

A critical survey of the progress made thus far in this field.

H. E. B.

STATISTICAL TABLES FOR STUDENTS IN EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY. By Karl J. Holzinger. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925. Pp. v, 74.

A set of highly useful tables in very convenient form. There are in all thirteen tables covering all calculations of a first course in statistics, including five place logarithms of $(1 - r^2)$ and $\sqrt{1 - r^2}$, for values of $\sqrt{1 - r}$, for values of r from 0.000 to 0.999, four-place values of $X = 0.6744898/\sqrt{N}$ up to $N = 1000$, similar values of the probable error of the product moment correlation coefficient up to N

= 1000 and areas and ordinates of the normal probability curve in terms of deviates from the mean.

F. H. H.

HISTORICAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND HENRY CABOT LODGE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. 2 vols. 545, 573 pp. \$10.00.

HENRY CABOT LODGE. By William Lawtence. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925. 203 pp. \$1.75.

HENRY CABOT LODGE THE STATESMAN. By Charles Stuart Groves. Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1925. 152 pp. \$2.00.

Material of interest on account of the recent death of the late senior Senator from Massachusetts. The edition of correspondence is of value for students of contemporary politics and American culture. The biographies are eulogistic, though that by Bishop Lawrence is restrained and discriminating. Neither is in any sense a definitive work.

SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Charles L. Robbins. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1925. 606 pp. \$1.72.

A good textbook for the grammar schools and junior high schools. Progressive in tone, well illustrated, and especially strong in pedagogical paraphernalia. Repeats in slightly diluted

form the wartime nonsense concerning the outbreak of the World War, and much too great space is devoted to the War.

H. E. B.

SOUTHERN PIONEERS. Edited by Howard W. Odum. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925. 221 pp. \$2.00.

Keen studies of Woodrow Wilson, Walter Hines Page, Charles Brantley Aycock, Seaman A. Knapp, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Joel Chandler Harris, Booker T. Washington, Madeline McDowell Breckinridge and Edward Kidder Graham, considered especially in their relation to Southern politics and history. The most valuable part of the book is the introduction by Professor Odum indicating the Southern loss of intellectual leadership since the Civil War and the steps necessary to regain it.

H. E. B.

ECONOMIC BEGINNINGS OF THE FAR WEST. How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi. By Katherine Coman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. 418, 450 pp. \$5.00.

This work needs no introduction to the academic world where it long since established itself as a classic work in economic, and incidentally, political history. First issued in two volumes in 1912, it is here republished, two volumes in one, for the greater convenience of teachers and students.

F. H. H.

GEOGRAPHICAL

A GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. By Lucien Febvre. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1925. xxv, 388 pp.

The most adequate formulation of the case against geographical determinism which has yet been published in any language. It also criticizes the naïve elements in the anthropogeographical

systems of Ratzel and his disciples, such as Miss Semple. It is a statement of the joint case for cultural determinism and regional geography.

H. E. B.

BIOLOGICAL

THE PERSONAL EQUATION. By Louis Berman, M.D. New York: Century Co., 1925. xviii, 303 pp. \$2.50.

A rather naïve effort to establish personality types and facial expression on the basis of alleged differential glandular equipment. It is a work comparable to that of André Tridon on psychoanalysis in his most lyrical moments.

H. E. B.

PERSONAL AND COMMUNITY HEALTH. By Clair Elsmere Turner. St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1925. 416 pp. \$2.50.

An excellent elementary manual on public hygiene. Of particular value for social workers.

H. E. B.

INDIVIDUAL AND MASS ATHLETICS. By S. C. Staley. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925. 257 pp. \$3.00.

This book contains an excellent collection of individual, mass and group athletic events, with a description of how to conduct the events and handle the results. It is a practical book for those who conduct classes in physical education and for those who have charge of arranging varied and interesting recreation programs for the few or many.

A. W. MARSH.

Amherst College.

THE NORMAL COURSE IN PLAY; PRACTICAL MATERIAL FOR USE IN THE TRAINING OF PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION WORKERS. Prepared by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, under the direction of Joseph Lee, President. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925. 261 pp. \$2.00.

Brings up to day, in thorough manner and concise form, all the experience and the best literature in the field of play and recreation up to the present time. All directors of play and recreation, teachers, parents and those interested in the growth and education of children should have access to it. With each chapter there is a good bibliography to supplement the material presented.

A. W. M.

INTRAMURAL ATHLETICS. By Elmer D. Mitchell. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925. \$2.00.

A good review of some of the best programs of intramural athletics. There is some discussion, also, of the principles underlying the development of sports for the benefit of large numbers as opposed to the specialization involved in varsity teams. Most of the material is practical and can be adapted quite readily to local conditions in schools and colleges.

A. W. M.

RECREATIVE ATHLETICS. Prepared by the Playground and Recreation Association of America. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925. 127 pp. \$60.

Suggested programs of games and sports to promote physical development.

H. E. B.

PSYCHOLOGICAL

REST AND GROW STRONG. By Edward Huntington Williams and Ernest Bryant Hoag. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925. 335 pp. \$2.50.

An interesting work on applied psychology and psychotherapy, relying largely upon a discriminating exploitation of the concepts of modern endocrinology.

H. E. B.

THE WAYS OF THE MIND: THE STUDY AND USE OF PSYCHOLOGY. By Henry Foster Adams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. 336 pp. \$2.00.

A clear presentation of the elementary facts of strictly conventional academic psychology.

H. E. B.

EARLY CONCEPTIONS AND TESTS OF INTELLIGENCE. By Joseph Peterson. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1925. xiv, 320 pp. \$2.16.

An excellent history of the progress of mental testing through the period of Galton, Cattell, and Binet and Simon. Brings the matter down to the eve of the World War.

H. E. B.

SCHOOL AND HOME. By Angelo Patri. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925. 220 pp. \$2.00.

An original and progressive discussion of the problem of parent teacher coöperation in harmony with the newer ideals of education.

H. E. B.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

CHINESE FANTASTICS. By Thomas Steep. New York: Century Company, 1925. 223 pp. \$2.00.

An extremely interesting collection of miscellaneous descriptions of Chinese life by an extensive traveller and gifted narrator.

H. E. B.

BEYOND KHYBER PASS. By Lowell Thomas. New York: Century Company, 1925. xvii, 255 pp. \$4.00.

A remarkably well illustrated book on travels in Afghanistan. Contains much information about the manners and customs of a little known country.

H. E. B.

THE MAP THAT IS HALF UNROLLED. By E. Alexander Powell. New York: Century Company, 1925. x, 355 pp. \$3.50.

An interesting report of travels in equatorial Africa by the distinguished newspaper correspondent.

H. E. B.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STEPPES. By Ralph Fox. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925. viii, 246 pp. \$2.50.

An absorbing account of the peoples of eastern Russia and the Caucasus regions which, incidentally, throws much light upon the political and cultural conditions and struggles under the Bolshevik regime. Refreshingly fair.

H. E. B.

ROVING THROUGH SOUTHERN CHINA. By Harry A. Franck. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xxi, 649 pp. \$5.00.

A companion volume to *Wandering in Northern China*, by one of the most indefatigable of the contemporary narrators of travel experiences.

H. E. B.

THE NEGRO AROUND THE WORLD. By Willard Price. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1925. 75 pp. \$-.75

A very sketchy account of the Negro in Africa, the West Indies and elsewhere. Highly readable, interesting, but too bold and bald for scholarly use.

F. H. H.

SOCIOLOGICAL

WHAT SOCIAL CLASSES OWE TO EACH OTHER. By William Graham Sumner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. 169 pp. \$1.50.

A new edition of the foremost American plea for individualism as a social philosophy, with a foreword by Sumner's successor, Professor A. G. Keller.

H. E. B.

CIVIC SOCIOLOGY. By Edward Alsworth Ross. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1925. \$1.85.

Probably the best effort yet made to apply sociological principles to our leading public problems in a high school textbook. Covers a broad range of subjects, and should not be confused through the title with elementary texts in urban sociology.

H. E. B.

THE AMAZING CRIME AND TRIAL OF LEOPOLD AND LOEB. By Maureen McKernan. Chicago: Plymouth Court Press, 1924. 380 pp. \$2.00.

A very adequate summary of the case-histories of the defendants and the details of the trial. Needs to be supplemented by the psychiatric appraisals of the trial by Dr. Glueck, White, Salmon, Blumgart and others.

H. E. B.

THE INFERIOR CRIMINAL COURTS ACT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. By W. Bruce Cobb. New York: Macmillan, 1925. xii, 529 pp. \$4.00.

A technical study, chiefly of value for lawyers and judges.

H. E. B.

HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN PRISONS. Prepared by the National Society of Penal Information. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. 311 pp. \$2.00.

An excellent and useful compendium of information concerning the personnel and methods in the federal prisons and in the leading state prisons of the East.

H. E. B.

AGED CLIENTS OF BOSTON SOCIAL AGENCIES. Edited by Lucile Eaves. Boston: Women's Educational and Industrial Union, 1925. 152 pp. \$1.25.

A model quantitative and analytical study of the problem of the dependency of old age and its relief.

H. E. B.

ECONOMIC

THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT. By R. H. Tawney. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. 189 pp.

A clear and authoritative historical and analytical survey of the rise of the modern British labor movement and its attitude towards politics, the coal industry, international relations, education and socialism.

H. E. B.

WHAT IS CAPITAL. By Henry Arthur Jones. London. Eveleigh Nash and Grayson, 1925. xvi, 71 pp: 2 s. 6d.

An animated attack upon the economic theories of Bernard Shaw by a brilliant arch-conservative.

H. E. B.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. By Carl D. Thompson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1925. xvii, 445 pp. \$3.00

A friendly but erudite and comprehensive history of the progress made in public ownership, chiefly in the United States and Canada. Concludes with a consideration of the objections offered to the program of public ownership.

H. E. B.

THE ECONOMICS OF OUR PATENT SYSTEM By Floyd L. Vaughan. New York: Macmillan, 1925 xv, 288 pp. \$2.50.

A comprehensive historical, descriptive and critical survey of the problem, with suggested reforms of the system.

H. E. B.

AN ESSAY ON GOLD. By M. K. Graham. Dallas Hargreaves Printing Company, 1925. 198 pp.

A discriminating criticism of the gold standard, and a statement of the case for the tabular standard and the "Goods-dollar."

H. E. B.

PROSPERITY AND POLITICS. By Ernest J. P. Benn. London: Jarrolds, 1925. 95 pp. 1s.

A vigorous analytical attack upon state socialism and a plea for laissez-faire.

H. E. B.

THE CUSTODY OF STATE FUNDS. By Martin L. Faust. New York: National Institute of Public Administration, 1925. 176 pp. \$2.00.

A thorough survey of existing methods and agencies.

H. E. B.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA. By P. Padmanabha Pillai. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. xviii, 331 pp. \$5.00.

A very valuable and comprehensive survey of the development and contemporary state of the economic life of British India.

H. E. B.

POLITICAL

NEW ASPECTS OF POLITICS. By Charles Edward Merriam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. xvii, 253 pp. \$2.50.

A stimulating review of the main tendencies in the development of the broader approach to a study of political life and institutions. A book which should be in the hands of every student of the social sciences. It reviews the contributions made by history, sociology, psychology and biology to the newer politics, and of the progress made by political science in assimilating this new material.

H. E. B.

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. By Frederick A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York: Century Company, 1925. viii, 938 pp. \$3.75.

A new and enlarged edition of the most comprehensive college textbook in the field.

H. E. B.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN 1925. By Frank A. Macgruder. New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1925. 524 pp. \$1.50.

A revised edition of a good high school text in civics.

H. E. B.

PATRIOTISM IS NOT ENOUGH. By John Haynes Holmes. New York: Greenberg, 1925. 208 pp. \$1.50.

A brilliant assault upon narrow-minded nationalism, and a constructive plea for a broader and more civilized approach to the relations between states.

H. E. B.

THE LORDSHIP OF THE WORLD. By C. J. O'Donnell
London: Cecil Palmer. 1925. 187 pp. 5s.

A spirited attack upon Entente propaganda and political corruption in connection with the causes, progress and results of the World War.

H. E. B.

BRITISH POLITICS IN TRANSITION. By E. M. Sait and David P. Barrows. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1925. xi, 319 pp. \$1.80.

A comprehensive and illuminating collection of relevant extracts and source-material printed in nearly unreadable type.

H. E. B.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By Raymond Leslie Buell. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. xiii, 768 pp. \$5.00.

An original, comprehensive and much needed general textbook covering the leading processes and problem of international relations. True to title and not a word on diplomatic history.

H. E. B.

AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT. By William Anderson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. ix, 675 pp. \$5.00.

Probably the most thorough and adequate college textbook on municipal government. Especially strong on administration.

H. E. B.

THE NEXT WAR. By Norris F. Hall, Zechariah Chafee and Manley O. Hudson. Cambridge: Harvard Alumni Bulletin Press, 1925. 109 pp. \$1.00.

PARIS OR THE FUTURE OF WAR. By Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. 86 pp. \$1.00.

The first of these brief books is a highly constructive collection of lectures designed to suggest ways of averting the next war. The second predicts the methods by which the next war will be fought.

H. E. B.

NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM. By Jerome and Jean Tharaud. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925. 223 pp. \$3.00.

Interesting discussions and descriptions of the problems of the Zionist experiment in Palestine and its European background.

H. E. B.

AMERICA AND WORLD PEACE. By Hon. John H. Clarke. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1925. 145 pp. \$1.50.

A forceful plea for the League of Nations and international organization.

H. E. B.

THE RECENT FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. By George H. Blakeslee. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925. 368 pp. \$2.00.

An interesting and readable book. Full of wisdom, discretion and admiration for Secretary Hughes.

H. E. B.

THE AMERICAN TASK IN PERSIA. By A. D. Mills-paugh. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xiv, 322 pp. \$3.00.

An account of the work of the American Financial Mission in Persia and of contemporary conditions in Persia.

H. E. B.

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF THE EAST. By George M. Dutcher. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1925. 372 pp. \$3.00.

A scholarly and comprehensive, but not especially vivid, review of recent developments in the politics and international relations of the Far East.

H. E. B.

JURISTIC

THE THEORY OF JUSTICE. By Rudolf Stammler. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. xli, 591 pp. \$6.00.

The most complete summary of the legal philosophy of the leader of the Neo-Kantian school of jurisprudence.

H. E. B.

THE ELEMENTS OF BUSINESS LAW. By Ernest Huffcut and George G. Bogert. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925. xiv, 359 pp. \$1.48.

New edition of an excellent elementary text.

H. E. B.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL. By David Hunter Miller. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. 279 pp. \$3.50.

THE PROTOCOL FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. By Frances Kellor and Antonia Hatvany. New York: Privately printed, 1925.

Two books of texts and interpretations on the Geneva Protocol, the former favoring it and the latter criticizing it.

H. E. B.

ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS

ETHICS AND SOME MODERN WORLD PROBLEMS. By William McDougall. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. xvii, 256 pp. \$3.00.

Rationalized apologia for nationalism and Puritanism.

H. E. B.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. New York: International Publishers, 1925. 256 pp. \$2.50.

A sympathetic survey of art and literature under the Bolshevik régime.

H. E. B.

INTERCHURCH GOVERNMENT. By Clarence R. Athearn. New York: The Century Company, 1925. xiv, 377 pp. \$3.00.

A study of the problem of Church union from the standpoint of political federation and administrative organization.

H. E. B.

BUDDHIST BIRTH-STORIES. By T. W. Rhys-Davids. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925. lxix, 256 pp. \$3.00.

Interesting contribution to comparative folklore and Oriental religions.

H. E. B.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON, A CHAMPION OF UNITY. By John Wallace Sutter. New York: The Century Company, 1925. 549 pp. \$5.00.

A voluminous and interestingly written appreciation of the famous rector of Grace Church, New York City.

H. E. B.

WHITHER BOUND IN MISSIONS. By Daniel J. Fleming. New York: Association Press, 1925. xiii, 222 pp. \$1.00.

From an analysis of missionary motives and methods and of the intellectual and spiritual effects on both the sending receiving groups, Dr. Fleming aims to ascertain the attitudes and principles productive of the highest individual and social development as a guide to progressive work. The mutual spiritual obligations of different peoples, convictions *vs.* teachableness, adaptation to environment and social heritage, these and other aspects treated enable this book to meet the requirements of the international mind which recognises the interdependence of human endeavours, and which therefore welcomes a thorough, reliable survey of the social forces expressed in missions.

DOROTHY DUNNING.

MISCELLANEOUS

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD. By Iconclast. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1925. 191 pp. \$2.00.

A sympathetic survey of the Labor Party's leader from 1923 to 1925.

H. E. B.

COLLEGE. By John Palmer Gavit. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. 342 pp. \$2.50.

By all odds the most intelligent appraisal of contemporary American college life and education yet published.

H. E. B.

SINGING GAMES AND DRILLS. By Chester Geppert Marsh. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1925. 162 pp. \$2.00.

A recreational program for schools.

H. E. B.